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10 YEARS AFTER

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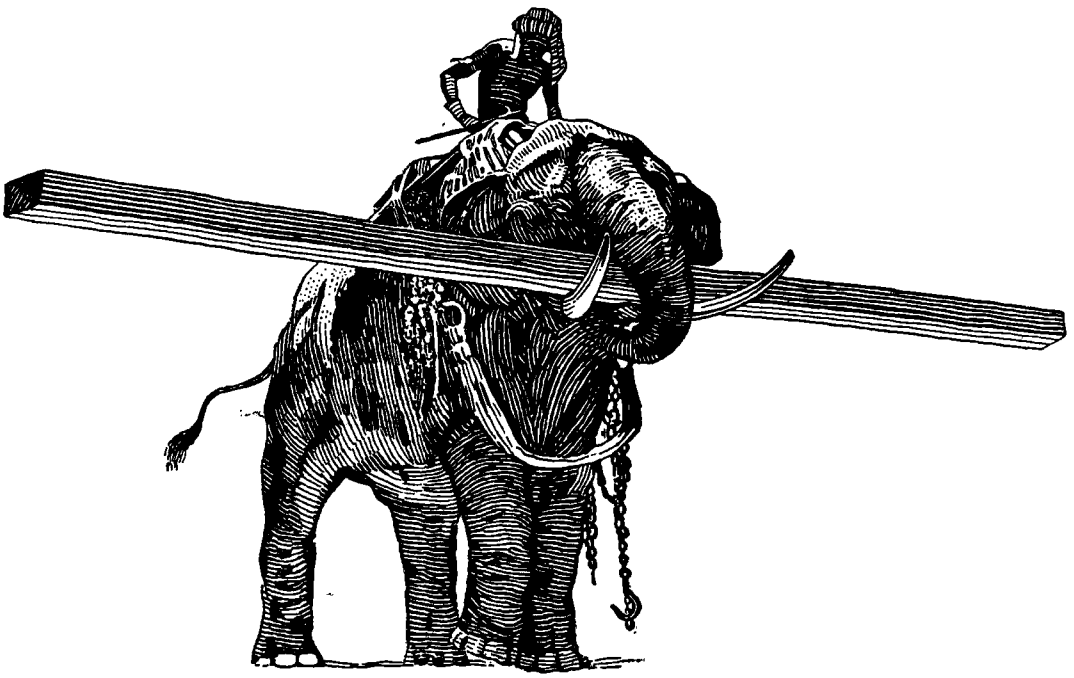

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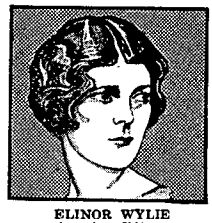

ELINOR WYLIE
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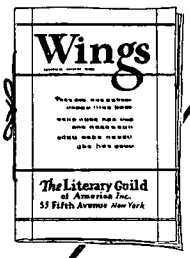

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Telltale Arteries

"I wonder how old she really is. I don't believe she is as young as she looks."

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A NOTED physician said recently, "The woman who conceals her age is a public benefactor. Through her determination to stay young—even to the point of denying the calendar—she has set up higher health standards. Age is not a matter of years but of tissue changes. While she keeps her body and spirit young, she is young."

* * * *

If you have associated with persons past 50 or 60, you may have listened to much solemn talk about arteries—well intended, but mostly untrue. For example, "old as your arteries," "old as you look," "old as you feel," being part-truths are swallowed whole or rejected entirely, depending upon casual experience or observation.

That arteries which become thick and brittle may bring an abrupt ending to life through ruptured blood vessels is generally known. But it is not generally known that either defective arteries or high blood pressure may be directly responsible for serious changes which occur in heart, kidneys and brain.

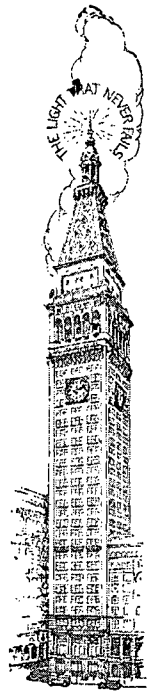
High blood pressure is not a disease. It is a definite indication that something is wrong somewhere in the body. What causes the trouble can oftentimes be immediately discovered by a competent doctor. Again, the cause can be determined only by patient, intelligent study and observation.

Here is the message to everybody, old or young, sick or well: Your doctor can find out in a few minutes whether or not your blood pressure is normal for your age—whether or not your arteries are healthy. There is no way for you to judge your condition. At the beginning of trouble there is seldom pain or warning of any kind. The fact that one's blood pressure shows fluctuation or is temporarily high is no proof that anything is radically wrong.

Thanks to sound advice of physicians, thousands and thousands of men and women have been saved from acute or chronic trouble by removing the cause. Others, who have found the cause past correction—as it sometimes is—have lived to old age with hardened arteries, high blood pressure, or both, because they learned how to live—eating, working, exercising wisely and in *moderation*.

Sometimes high blood pressure and diseased arteries are caused by focal infection in head or body; sometimes by poisons—the left-overs of previous infectious disease which were neglected and never completely eliminated; sometimes by overweight or overwork or unhappy mental conditions—worry, fear, anger, hate, anxiety.

Above all, know the truth. Have your blood pressure read once a year at least. Keep well, keep happy, keep young.



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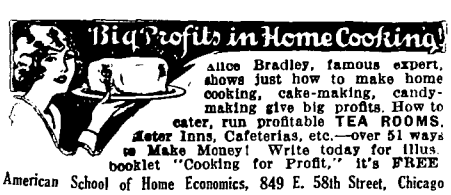
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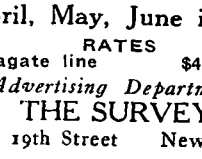

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How The Outstanding Book Is Chosen Each Month

THE Book-of-the-Month Club is a service, which prevents busy or procrastinating people from missing the outstanding new books that they want to read. It has engaged a group of five critics to select the most readable and important book each month—Henry Seidel Canby, chairman, Heywood Broun, Christopher Morley, Dorothy Canfield and William Allen White. The book selected each month is sent to all subscribers, unless they want some other book instead. They pay the same price that the publisher himself charges. This unique service has been very widely praised, and over 40,000 discriminating readers have now subscribed to it. It has, however, met with an interesting criticism in some quarters. This is: "I don't want anyone to select what books I shall read. I want to choose my own books." What ground is there for this objection?

HAVE you ever given thought to the considerations that *now* move you in deciding to read any book? You hear it praised by a friend. Or you see an advertisement of it in a newspaper. Or you read a review of it by some critic, whose account of it excites your interest. You decide you *must* read that book. Note, however, what has happened: it is always recommendation *from some source*, that determines you to read it. True, your choice is completely free, but you exercise your choice among *recommended* books.

Observe what follows, after you are thus influenced, quite legitimately, to read a certain book. Sometimes—but sometimes only—you go right out, buy it and read it. More often, however, if you are the average person your fine intention goes to seed. For one reason or another, you neglect to get it. You hear other intelligent people discussing it; you get annoyed with yourself; you say: "I must not continue to forget to get that book!" But in the end—all too frequently—you miss reading it altogether; you confess sadly to someone that you "never got around to it."

How the "Book-of-the-Month" is chosen

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All the new books each month are submitted for consideration by the publishers. Necessarily there is at first some elimination; certain books are obviously designed for special classes of readers. Usually, each month, the choice narrows among from twenty to thirty books. A copy of each one of these books is sent to each member of the Selecting Committee. There is no discussion. Each one reads the books independently, and gives them a rating in the order *in which he himself prefers them*. The book which emerges with the highest total rating becomes the "book-of-the-month".

What is the effect of this method of independent voting? When a majority of five critics (of such good judgment and such varying taste) award a book first place among twenty or thirty considered, clearly it is *likely* to be a book you would not care to miss. Certainly, it will have as strong recommendation behind it as behind the books you are influenced to read through other sources.

Nevertheless, tastes differ. This combined vote of the judges is not infallible, and they would be the last ones to consider it so. Their choice simply represents a sensible method of arriving at one outstanding book each month—and it works! The books they choose *are* outstanding; but nobody compels you to like them, nor even to read them. Your own taste is considered, for you, quite as sacred as theirs.

Satisfaction guaranteed

Accordingly, you are not compelled, willy-nilly, to accept the choice of our Committee. Before the "book-of-the-month" comes to you, you receive a carefully written report describing the sort of book it is. If you don't want it, you specify that some other book be sent instead. You make your choice from a list of other important new books, which are recommended by the Committee, *and carefully described in order to guide you in your choice.* If, however, you decide to let the "book-of the-month" come and then find you are disappointed, *you can still exchange it at that time for any other book you prefer.*

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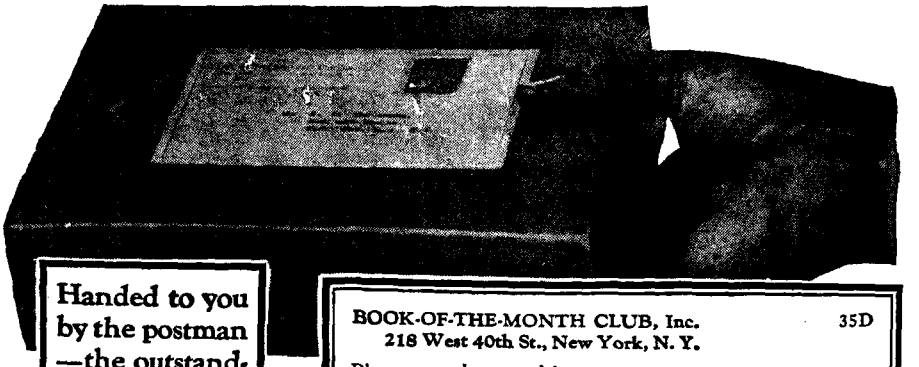

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THE SURVEY

Graphic Number

Vol. LVIII, No. 1 April 1, 1927

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THE SURVEY

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Ten Years Back

The American People and the World War

By CHARLES and MARY BEARD

A HUNDRED years is a short span to get perspective on a great epoch and see its ribs through the clothes of circumstance. But history itself has changed as its focus shifts from dynasties and musty documents to democracy and the forces at work among the people.

Its most prescient stuff becomes the living past and present.

Can the new history within so short a span as a decade help a generation which has met the brunt of supreme events, gauge their meaning and rechart its course before it passes off the stage?

Charles and Mary Beard have pioneered with the new technique of history in their forthcoming work, The Rise of American Civilization (Macmillan). They show the genesis of social and psychological forces, economic, political, cultural; more, they attempt their synthesis. In doing so, they telescope American history into two volumes. Here, we have in turn telescoped their searching treatment of the war epoch, condensing paragraphs, sections, chapters, into the space of a single magazine article, in the thought that this may prove our most distinctive contribution to the anniversary of America's entry into the War.

REVERBERATIONS of the desperate conflict in Europe, the constant thrumming of propaganda, fears of investors who had bought Anglo-French bonds and of manufacturers who had sold enormous quantities of supplies to the Entente Powers, the continuous insistence of citizens who genuinely feared the menace of a German victory, and the strained tension of diplomatic relations—had all combined to beat the domestic politics of the United States into a boisterous storm in the months preceding America's entry into the World War on April 6, 1917.

Taking the mandate of the fall elections as a verdict in support of conciliatory policies, President Wilson soon thereafter had addressed open notes to the belligerent powers proposing a negotiated settlement and asking them to state the terms upon which the war might be brought to an end—an action in keeping with the negotiations which he had long been carrying on with the belligerents through the agency of Colonel House. In reply to his manifesto the Central Powers, then enjoying the better of the fight, stated that they were ready for a conference, while the Entente Allies laid down drastic conditions as the price of their acceptance, bringing to naught the effort at mediation.

Wilson returned to the theme on January 22, 1917, declaring in a speech before the Senate that it was the duty of the United States to take part in restoring international harmony on the basis of certain principles. These he enumerated in a short form: "peace without victory," the right of nationalities to liberty and self-government, independence of Poland, freedom of the seas, reduction of armaments, and abolition of entangling alliances. If no new factors had entered the contest, the program suggested by Wilson might have provided the only solution of the peace problem for, while his terms were abhorrent to the war party in each belligerent country, the long conflict now promised a stalemate, causing the peoples of Europe to be sick at heart and augmenting social unrest in every quarter. But events decreed another fate, making a break in the long monody with startling suddenness on January 31, when the German ambassador at Washington, Count von Bernstorff, announced the purpose

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of his government to renew the submarine campaign. Within three months after that the United States was involved with the Entente Allies in the war on the German Empire.

WHAT was running through Wilson's mind in those harrowing times when he was engrossed in "waging neutrality"—how did he view the conflict that was shaking the world? Obviously the answer to this question is not to be found in biographies and eulogies written after Wilson carried the United States into the war. Neither can it be discovered from his own writings, for his intimate papers revealing the trend of his thinking during the first years of the struggle in Europe have not yet been laid before the country. Nevertheless the mystery is not completely sealed; for in the correspondence of Walter Hines Page, American ambassador in London, in the papers of Franklin K. Lane, secretary of the interior, written between 1914 and 1917, fortunately, if indiscreetly, made public, and in the letters of Colonel House, can be caught illuminating glimpses of the President's thought as it developed before the measures of the German Imperial Government, coupled with the pitiless beat of propaganda and the ceaseless din of war voices, bore him into the fray.

In these records it seems to be made plain that, until the United States entered the war, Wilson, in spite of fluctuations in his temper, looked rather coldly on the pretensions of both the embattled forces, being inclined to regard the conflict as a war of commercial powers over the spoils of empire. "The President," complained Page, "started out with the idea that it was a war brought on by many obscure causes—economic and the like. . . . Thus we have failed to render help to the side of Liberalism and Democracy which are at stake in the world."

In the letters of Lane, the opinion expressed by Page is amply confirmed. As late as February 2, 1917, even after news had come that Germany would renew her submarine warfare, Wilson was asked at a Cabinet meeting which side he wished to see victorious in the European conflict. Without equivocation, he replied that "he didn't wish to see either side win—for both had been equally indifferent to the rights of neutrals—though Germany had been brutal in taking life and England only in taking property."

What then eventually turned the scale in Wilson's mind and within two months changed him from a man who "didn't wish either side to win" into an ardent advocate of war "without stint" against Germany? No easy answer is forthcoming, if indeed the psychological process of human decision is fathomable at all; but many of the factors that profoundly influenced him were patent to every one. First among them certainly was Germany's announcement of a general submarine campaign practically without let or hindrance, followed shortly by the destruction of six American vessels, in a majority of cases without warning, three of them carrying American citizens to death. Unless the President was to repudiate his previous position on that issue and now accept submarine warfare with all its consequences as approved by the new laws of combat, there was no other choice than an appeal to arms. In any event, this was the official thesis for, when Wilson called upon Congress for the fateful war resolution, he declared that the German Imperial Government had in fact driven the United States into the position of a belligerent. Such even was the verdict of the German ambassador in Washington, for he attributed to the action of his own government the rupture of relations, adding that, in his opinion, affairs were not only distinctly favorable to Germany at the moment but moving, under the President's policy, in the direction of a fair peace.

There were, of course, other forces that helped to form the President's fateful decision. It was clear by the spring of 1917 that without American aid the Entente Allies could hardly hope for anything more than a stalemate, if indeed they could escape defeat. American investors, who had staked money on the Anglo-French side, munition makers who had accepted the paper of London and Paris in return for supplies, merchants and manufacturers who had huge Entente credits on their books were in danger of immense losses unless the United States government came to their rescue. No doubt the war dirge raised by these selfish factions was adequately financed and astutely managed. Furthermore, there was the large body of Americans of English stock who felt bound to England by ties of blood and affection and who urged upon Wilson a war in the name of kinship. Finally a considerable number of people, who looked upon the intrinsic merits of the European quarrel with relative indifference, believed that the United States had a genuine reason to fear the triumph of the German military caste in the Old World.

And yet when the evolution of Wilson's opinion respecting the war in Europe is traced according to the above design from the letters and papers of his contemporaries, it cannot be denied that there is authentic evidence for another view of the case, namely, that the President reached the conviction in 1915 or early in 1916 that he could play a masterful rôle on the international stage by taking the United States into the war on the side of the Entente allies, irrespective of German submarine tactics. While "waging peace," Wilson was revolving in his mind the question of his leadership and mission in world affairs, and kept revolving it until he finally broke with the German Empire.

WHEN hostilities were once declared, gigantic economic and military tasks had to be undertaken. Before the war was over, more than 3,700,000 American soldiers, including the marines, were under arms, while not less than ten million adults were engaged in sustaining them on the firing line. "It is not an army that we must shape and train for war," said the President; "it is a nation."

And Congress gave Wilson power with a lavish hand. In a series of the most remarkable laws ever enacted in Washington the whole economic system of the country was placed at his command.

The dictatorial powers thus conferred on the President were extensively employed. Railway, telegraph, telephone, and cable lines, express companies, and coastwise and high-seas shipping were taken over by the government, and an Emergency Fleet Corporation was created to mobilize the ship-building forces of the country—the stock of common carriers, long suffering under a drag, rebounding quickly in the hope of generous terms during occupancy. But cotton went free to catch the favors of a swelling market, and the South was happy beyond measure, counting this boon from a Democratic president some atonement for fifty years of Republican high protection. To assume the new functions, innumerable agencies were organized and hundreds of

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captains of industry flocked to Washington to serve their country at the rate of one dollar a year.

In mobilizing men and materials for war, a sincere effort was made to avoid the scandals which had marred previous armed conflicts. Although the type of fraud that had been perpetrated in older days when contracts were let on the lump-sum principle was escaped, other evils scarcely less distressing were called into being. Under the cost-plus system no one was interested in economy; if the producer of raw materials raised his prices, the war contractor could smile and pass on the extra charge with an increase in his commission. If a trade union struck for higher wages, the manufacturer could grant the demand with a friendly shrug, for the additional expense meant a larger commission garnered from the beneficent government. Only the wheat growers suffered severely in this procedure—their commodity being held down to a low level, whereas the prices of nearly all other essentials went shooting to the sky. So the war led by a Democratic President strengthened his opposition by making several thousand millionaires in the course of two years and by pouring out billions in extra dividends.

In only one respect, namely taxation, did the beneficiaries of war prosperity suffer grave disappointment. If former practices had been followed, the bills incurred by such lavish expenditures would have been met from the sale of bonds bearing a high rate of interest and discharged at last by indirect taxes on consumption. This had been in the main the fiscal procedure adopted by the directors of the federal government at the time of the Civil War and the Spanish-American struggle; but during the populist surge of the intervening years, political manners had changed. Congress laid heavy, progressive taxes on incomes and inheritances and burdensome levies upon the excess profits of corporations and partnerships. In spite of the fact that many marvelous schemes were devised by lawyers and accountants for absorbing the shock, including the ingenious device of issuing new stock in lieu of dividends, a weight of taxation that would have seemed revolutionary to the age of Lincoln fell upon the rich and the comfortable during the war for democracy.

In the sacrificial ardor of 1917, however, all profits were not lost, for the major portion of the current expenses during the war years was met by the sale of interest-bearing securities—not by direct levies on accumulated and accumulating fortunes. Counting the Victory Loan of April, 1919, five great blocks of bonds were floated, making a total of $21,448,120,300—each of them on severe terms that would have astounded the bankers of the Civil War period. Moreover, the bonds were not sold through syndicates on a generous commission basis, but "over the counter" with specific compensation for financiers.

In the popular "drives" the whole nation was invited to share—and recalcitrants were compelled to join. All the vociferous advertising methods so characteristic of American business in general were mobilized to force each issue "over the top." Not a latent sentiment of loyalty, fear, love, or hate was left unstirred. Immense posters bearing the imprint of a bloody hand and carrying the legend—"The Hun, His Mark. Blot It Out With Liberty Bonds"—were flung upon the hoardings to move one type of investor. Streamers bearing the inscription—"Ask His Mother How Many Bonds You Should Buy"—appealed to another class. Workmen in factories, farmers in fields, clerks in stores, members of lodges, children in school, bank depositors, government employes, travelers on trains, pedestrians in the streets were all invited, besieged and belabored to "buy until it hurts."

The sovereignty of the war passion admitted no exceptions; nationalism was in full flower.

THESE material activities were merely a part of the general mobilization of the whole people in a conflict which, until April 7, 1917, had been stanchly opposed by a large part of them. About one week after the declaration of war, President Wilson organized a committee on public information for the purpose of "selling the war to America." Masters of the printed word, adepts in advertising, university professors, facile magazine writers, and popular novelists were enrolled in regimental ranks for the purpose of "educating" the country and in turn deluging the world with American propaganda. With the higher mental order thus arranged, the entire school system of the country was easily brought into line with mechanical precision, subduing even the minds of tender children to the official thesis concerning the origins and merits of the contest. Heavy, documented articles were devised by men of learning for the intellectuals; pungent sayings and slogans were invented to supply substance for the less sophisticated.

Never before had American citizens realized how thoroughly, how irresistibly a modern government could impose its ideas upon the whole nation and, under a barrage of publicity, stifle dissent with declarations, assertions, official versions, and reiteration. Organized to sell the war to a divided and confused nation, the Committee on Public Information succeeded beyond all expectations in its appointed task.

With dissenters who were not convinced or cowed by its publicity campaign, the government dealt vigorously under drastic statutes. In June, 1917, Congress passed the Espionage Act, laying heavy penalties on all persons who interfered in any way with the effective mobilization of the military and naval forces of the nation. Not content with the sweeping provisions of this law, the President asked and received from Congress a still more severe measure, the Sedition Act, of May, 1918—a statute which in effect made any criticism of the Wilson administration a possible cause of criminal prosecution.

Though this measure surpassed in violence the Sedition Law of 1798, so hotly denounced by Thomas Jefferson, it was enacted without difficulty. Individual critics of the war and the Wilson program were rounded up by the government, often without warrants of arrest, hustled to prison, held incommunicado without bail, tried in courts where the atmosphere was heavily charged with passion, lectured by irate judges, and sent to prison for long terms—in one case an adolescent girl for twenty years.

The Post Office Department found the defeat of a censorship bill no bar to the suppression of newspapers that failed to measure up to its standards of propriety and taste. In the War Department an army of clerks and investigators assembled mountains of "data" bearing on the opinions of private persons; a swivel-chair chauvinist, thrown up from obscurity for an hour and drawing a dollar a year for his services, gave to the press under the color of dubious official authority a long list of citizens branded as traitors in his own patriotic eyes. (*Continued on page* 51)

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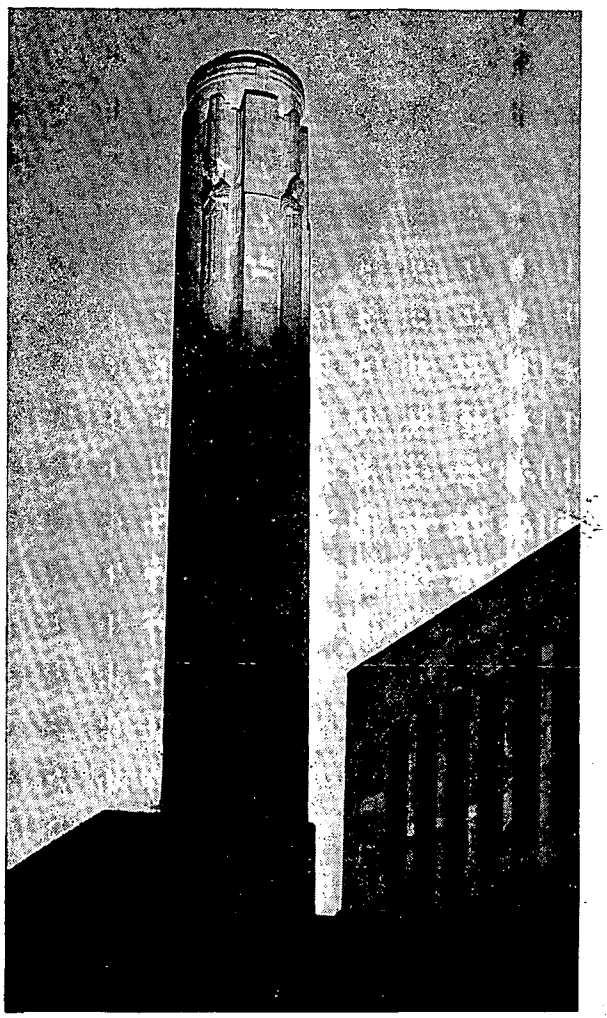
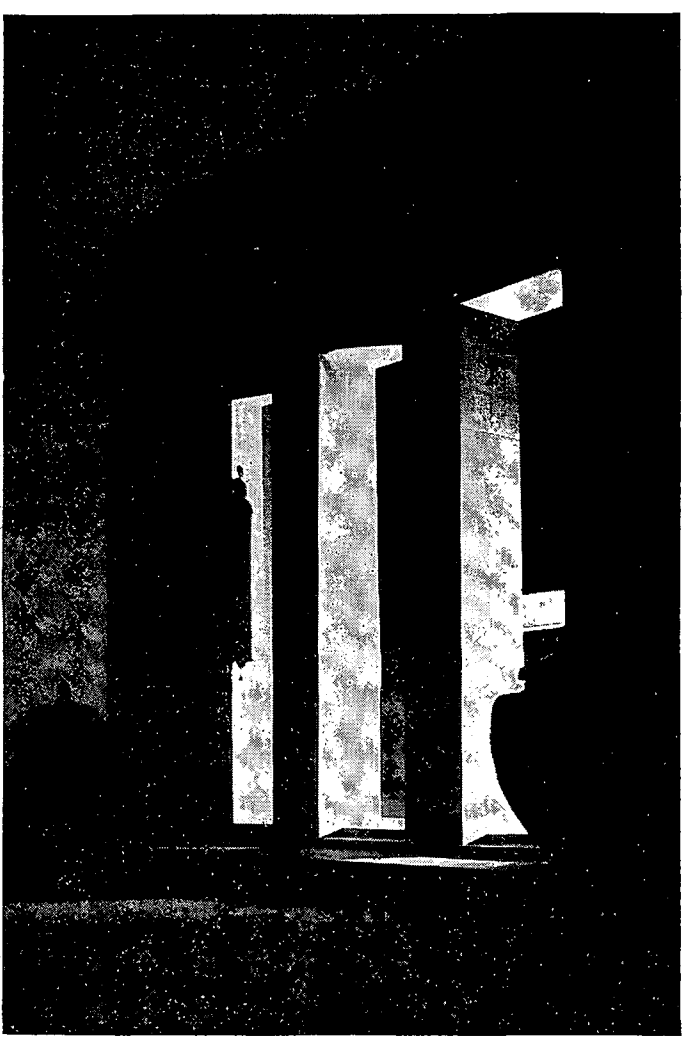


At almost the exact center of the country, a great war monument, designed by H. Van Buren Magonigle, is nearing completion

The Liberty Memorial at Kansas City



At right, the memorial building by night. Above, the shaft with searchlight showing the four winged figures in high relief

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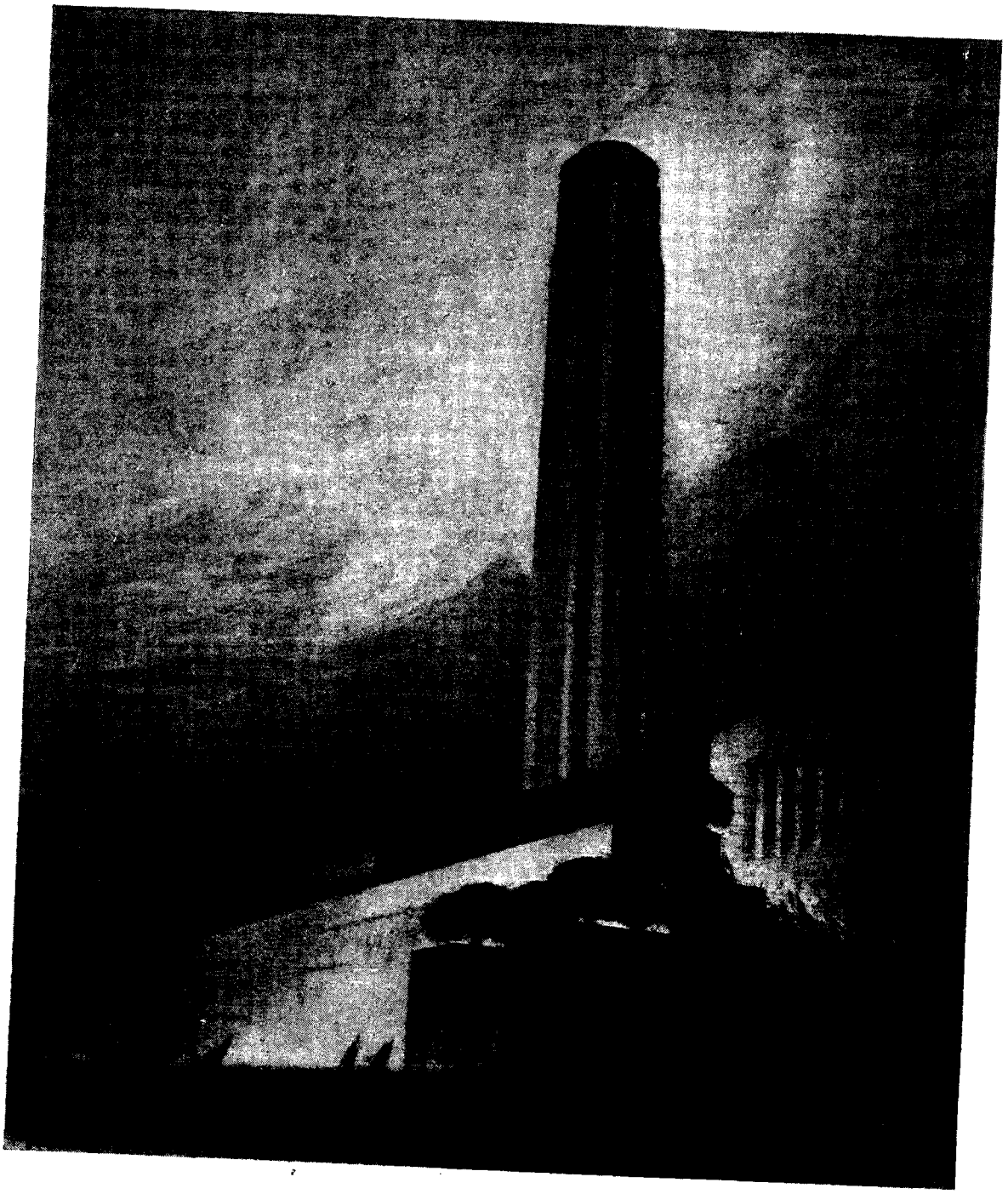
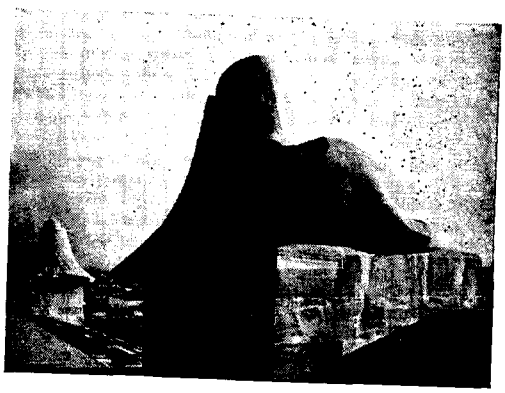


A high shaft, lighted by night, is flanked by sphinx-like figures of Memory and the Future. Two buildings face in from the ends of the wide base. The approach lies through a tree-lined mall. From the drawing by Hugh Ferriss



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Moral Preparedness for the Next War

By A. HAMILTON GIBBS

IF any pacifist were to ask me if I, as a war veteran, thought that our first efforts to end war were successful, I should be forced to answer, No! I should even be forced to admit that it was a dismal failure, a conspicuous failure. For when the unfortunate armistice put an end to the fighting, we veterans had not made our point: the universal peace that we were fighting for did not come. We have not been able to produce peace by force, like a rabbit out of a hat. At least, not yet. Give us time. There is always the next war—we'll show you something then! Why, we've got amphibious tanks that'll do about fifteen knots in the water and thirty miles an hour cross country, aeroplane bombs that knock anything they had in the last show for a row of ashcans, and gases that will exterminate a whole city in one dose. That ten million combatant dead in the last war—the untold millions of noncombatant dead will look like mere child's play.

But according to the U. S. War Instructions, the object of war is not to kill and destroy, but to bring about a renewed state of peace. The militarists of every country are urging armaments in preparation for peace. Our job, therefore, it seems to me, is to prepare ourselves morally for the next war because peace is so unpatriotic!—except by fighting!

What I mean by moral preparation is this: It is first of all to weigh the evidence carefully, and secondly for each one of us, individual citizens, man or woman, to realize his responsibility, or hers. That, after all, is the essence of democracy. To put it in form of a colloquial question:

Just what are we going to do about it, you and I?

Once upon a time war was a tribal excursion for food or revenge. In feudal days it became a baronial picnic. In the days of monarchies, even down to the Boer War, fighting was the jealously guarded privilege of the regular armies. You and I had to be content to get on with our jobs. Today we know that patriotism cannot be kept as the privilege of the few. We have forced the regular army to let every man of us have his share of the glory, his share of the decorations for valor, his share of the manly delight of sticking a bayonet through somebody, of crunching his face in with the butt. No man now can be prevented from leaving his wife and children and going out and getting shell-shocked, or maimed for life, or getting a shell splinter in the stomach which rips him open just sufficiently to give him about six or seven hours in which to die by inches, in which to call on the Almighty to put him out of his agony.

And the women share equally with the men. Didn't they form machine-gun battalions in Poland, and Legions of Death in Russia, and didn't the peasant women of France march proudly out of their shelled homes pushing their babies and everything they had in the world in perambulators? Didn't the women in manufacturing towns have the chance to get out of dish-washing and earn high wages making shells to help shoot down other women's husbands and sons? The gently bred women shared too. They did magnificent work running canteens for the soldiers, nursing the wounded and hurrying them back into the line to be wounded again or killed, lunching with generals in braided uniforms, and having as a matter of fact the emotional jag of their lives. Indeed we couldn't have got along without women. It would have been a much shorter war if they hadn't joined in.

War has passed out of the hands of the few and has become the business of the many, and it is because the last war was sprung on us too quickly, from the point of view of the individual, that we should be morally prepared for the next—instead of sinking back into the lethargy and inertia which invariably follow upon the heels of peace.

YOU who read this know better than I do that the United States cannot declare war without its being ratified by Congress. You also know that Congress is made up of men selected and elected by you. Therefore it is up to you individually to decide now whether Congress shall ever be put in the position of having to ratify another declaration.

Nor is this a far cry. With civil strife in China with all the great powers represented by armed forces there and involved in the clash of interests in the Far East, I think of the underlying attitude toward Japan as I have observed it in the United States in these post-war years. It is an almost exact parallel to the attitude which existed in England with regard to Germany as far back as 1907. At that time war with Germany was regarded as inevitable. People joked about it and shrugged their shoulders, and said: "Oh yes! Some day I suppose!" No one seemed to do anything about it. The man in the street pursued the policy of *laisser faire*. A few generals urged preparation. One man wrote a lurid melodrama called *An Englishman's Home* which was a frantic appeal to arms. But none of the serious writers like Wells, or Galsworthy, or Shaw, apparently considered the possibility of war to be of sufficient importance to bother about, much less to try to avert. And so we had our little war!

Here in the United States I have found much the same feeling about Japan. It is in the air. Wherever

My Credentials

"I'll begin by confessing that, of course, I am an utterly ignorant fellow," writes Mr. Gibbs. "I don't know anything about diplomacy, or big business, or fundamentalism, or modernism, or city government. Of all the things that really matter, the only one I know is war. Although, of course, the only war I know is the World War. Still, that wasn't a bad apprenticeship and I picked up quite a little knowledge in my four and a half years in the line."

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I have gone, I have met men who told me that they are going to be on the beach with a bomb in each hand for the first Jap who lands. The papers carry dark reports of the strides the Japs are making in aircraft. The American fleet went sauntering off to Australia. Generals are urging armaments, nominally for peace. My impression is that the war idea is being allowed to take firm root in the public mind. A few of the liberal weeklies register protests from time to time, but none of your great writers has bothered to put pen to paper to show the whole thing up. Yet if you will study the situation for yourselves and accept no ready-made opinions you will find, as I have been told by several American officers, that the whole thing is nothing but prejudice; there is no reason, racial, political or economic, why the United States and Japan should smear the Pacific Ocean with blood.

Most people read the headlines in the newspapers, and their thinking is done for the day. But about a year after the Armistice there was a lot of talk made in England as to the need for declaring war on Russia. Mr. Lloyd George was still very much in power. But the working classes of England did a little thinking. They decided that a war with Russia was not at all a good idea. In their own way they told Lloyd George that if he declared war they would declare a general strike which would tie up the entire country. Mr. Lloyd George saw the point. There was no war.

Abraham Lincoln said he didn't want slavery. There is no slavery. Jesus Christ said he wanted to give the world Christianity. We've got it. By a curious coincidence both men were murdered. It is none the less true that the men who believed that they were fighting to end war were also murdered. And unless you and I do something, they died in vain.

The moral is that if you want a thing badly enough you can always get it. If we want to write war off the books, we can do it. But we can't shrug our shoulders and say, "Oh, that's not my job!" and pass the buck. We've got to want it badly enough to crawl out of our little egos and stand on our two feet and say so!

THERE have been lots of nice little articles against war and nothing has happened. Mr. Bok paid a large sum of money for a prize essay and probably not one reader in a thousand even remembers the name of the winner. Nor has the method been adopted. Senator Borah has said that he would like to outlaw war. There is only one reason why he can't—because you and I, all the men and women who are going about our daily jobs in this country, in England, in France, in Germany and all the rest of them, won't back him up. Manley Hudson, who is professor of international law at Harvard, makes this comment about Borah:

> Pronouncement that war is illegal may prove useful. But it would be a mistake to put too much faith in it unless at the same time machinery is created which will make it possible to mobilize the world's opinion in favor of peace in times of crisis. The difficulty is not that the masses of men desire to fight; it is that the masses of men may not get a chance to express their desire not to fight. To make their voices articulate, to give effect to their abhorrence of war, machinery must exist for the quick assembling of conferences for the airing of difficulties and for the expression of the world's sober second sense.

It is because I believe with Professor Hudson that the world does possess a sober second sense,—in other words that you and I possess it,—that I venture to write about moral preparedness and individual responsibility.

ONE good thing has come out of the World War. It is that some of the world's best minds have turned their attention to peace. At present there are two schools—the old school, which still insists that peace can only be bought at the price of armaments and eventual war; the new school, which urges that war is an unsound method, no longer intelligent, nor ethical, nor economic, and that for it should be substituted arbitration.

The old school says: "The next war may wipe out civilization. We must fight to save it!"

The new school says: "If none of us fight there won't be a next war and civilization can't be wiped out!"

Both schools are equally sincere. But while the old school has nineteen hundred and twenty-seven years of historic failure behind it, the new school, if it can overcome the accumulation of twenty centuries of habit-mindedness, has the whole future in which to prove itself.

It is rather like flying. Before the Wright brothers were born, it was said to be "going against nature" to think of anybody flying. Today we send our letters by air mail. The idea of not fighting is still, to the old school, "going against nature." But if culture and civilization mean anything at all, they mean that man has progressed to the point of realizing that the natural qualities of man must be governed by the spiritual qualities; that our everyday life is one continual "going against nature" in our obedience not only to the ten commandments but to the local traffic cop who, in spite of his usually offensive language, symbolizes our recognition of things spiritual. We put him there because we believe in law and order, in decency and decorum; because we believe that we are all entitled to an equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It seems to me, therefore, that the new school's idea of not fighting gets an added value by going against nature in that it is a perfectly logical sequence and civilization. If you and I will keep on trying to further that idea, as the Wright brothers did their flying, there is no reason why peace should not be a part of our daily lives for the rest of time.

Now the old school is continually dinning the war idea into our ears. To do so it uses the press, the movies, the educational system, the church, and through them all most subtly uses the emotional side of us, the inertia side of us. It lulls our half-awakened suspicions with its song of glory and heroism and the flag. It puts up monuments to the men who have given their lives on the battle-field that democracy may live. It appeals to the cave man in us by placing in the public parks enormous guns captured from the enemy. It singles out for national worship the body of an unknown soldier. A magnificent and dramatic gesture!

But there could never be a world-wide adoption of such methods and gestures without good reason. In the case of the world war the reason was profound. It was, I think,

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the realization that the spirit of belligerence could no longer survive without stimulation: that mankind was beginning to show signs of what psychologists call failing war impulse.

Sex and hunger are instincts. Mankind breeds and feeds in the same way as it breathes and sleeps, instinctively. But it does not fight that way. It fights if the breeding or feeding are interfered with—or if it fools itself that these processes are going to be interfered with. In other words, there has got to be a reason to fight, an appeal to the mind as well as the emotions.

The so-called instinct of fighting presupposes a hot-blooded response to some personal stimulus—such, for instance, as an insult to one's wife, or the shooting of a relative in the course of a vendetta. There is very little personal stimulus in organized group fighting. Most of the men who fought in the War didn't know what they were fighting for. Nor is there anything hot-blooded about it. It is the most cold-blooded business in the world, the idea of which is to smash the enemy's morale by hook or by crook, by fair means or foul in order, of course, to bring about a renewed state of peace. It is just as ethical in war to blockade the enemy's ports and starve his women and children, as it is to pass the word round before an attack and say "No prisoners today!"—which means kill everybody. It is just as ethical to sink neutral ships that are fools enough to sail into the war zone, as it is to tell your own people what a glorious victory your troops have just won when, as a matter of fact, they have been slaughtered by the thousand and you have suffered a ghastly defeat.

Remember how the mass had to be spoken, written, preached, and sung into enthusiasm. After the first excitement, the war impulse became so sluggish that freedom of speech and action were universally suspended. The truth was given an indefinite holiday, and any untruth that would get the crowd into line was highly rewarded. Not only were millions of dollars spent by every country in the stimulation of the war impulse, and every publicity channel organized for it, but for the first time in history the old school had to admit that loss of morale was a force to be reckoned with. Because there was so much of it, they had to accept it as a regular casualty. In its express form it was called shell-shock, and special hospitals had to be provided for those who in psychological parlance had completely lost all war impulse. Think that over!

Remember how we had to be taught to hate the Germans, by stories of atrocities. The Germans were educated to hate the Allies by the same kind of atrocity tale. Remember also the various mutinies in England after the Armistice because the men did not think they were being demobilized fast enough.

AS a matter of fact the old school are somewhat anxious. They are afraid that the war game has become a little too rough for the public to stomach. As far back as the Hague Convention of 1899 they began to discuss ways and means by which war might be maintained as a gentlemanly way of settling international difficulties. They drew up some Queensbury rules, arguing that it was not at all nice to use dum-dum bullets that expand when they hit you and rip out a great lump when they pass out the other side. Of course, it was still perfectly all right to kill, but it had to be done neatly and without mess. Various other eight-ounce-glove principles were adopted, but they all went by the board during the World War under the plea of military necessity. After all, it was stupid to fuss with a mere expanding bullet when trench mortars and liquid flame and gas did the job on a wholesale scale so much more effectively.

But now that the show is over, the old school is trying to hedge again. General Pershing, in a committee report, recommended the abolition of chemical warfare "because it is fraught with the gravest danger to non-combatants, and because it demoralizes the better instincts of humanity!" When a great man like Pershing makes such a statement, it is up to us to analyze it. Let us take it half at a time. He has recommended the abolition of chemical warfare because it is fraught with the gravest danger to non-combatants.

All right. Who were the non-combatants in the last war? In London, Washington, Paris, Berlin and all the belligerent capitals there were thousands of officers in uniform using every ounce of energy and brain to help win the war. They never saw or heard the firing line, but they were undoubtedly combatants. So was every man and woman who bought Liberty Bonds, gave his time and energy to drives and recruiting campaigns, ran canteens or made shells, nursed, wrote editorials, drove ambulances, or went without food and coal to help win the war. In every country the only non-combatants were the children and the sick. By all means let gas be abolished for them! But don't forget that in modern warfare every adult, man or woman, is a combatant.

THEN General Pershing would do away with chemical warfare because it demoralizes the better instincts of humanity. But is gas any worse than liquid fire? Do our better instincts become more demoralized by it than by being hung up on a barbed wire in No Man's Land, or by shooting down a whole platoon with machine guns, or by listening to a man with shell-shock? What happened to our better instincts when we heard a minister preach a sermon of flaming hatred? Were we demoralized or not when we rejoiced to read that the Germans left nearly half a million dead at Verdun? What had happened to the better instincts of the fathers who sent their sons off with the final advice to "kill a bunch of them for me!"

The abolition of gas won't change those things, and General Pershing knows it. We need the abolition of war. And to bring that about we need the sublimation in ourselves of those primal greeds and desires and blindnesses which in a moment of crisis stampede our better instincts. That, in a nutshell, is the teaching of the new school. It is hardly necessary to add that that teaching is not intended to apply only to politicians, preachers, teachers, and writers—it is intended for you and me. It is as definite a challenge as war, and needs far more courage and determination.

If you ask me, Can it be done? my answer is a most decided, Yes!

One of the French ministers at the time of the Franco-Prussian War evolved a phrase which has since become famous. He said, "When war is inevitable, it is essential to make it popular." Let us assume that peace is inevitable. Then it is our first job to make it popular, and to do so we can take a leaf out of the old school's book. We can prepare the world for peace just as it is being prepared for war.

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WE are all of us familiar with the word internationalism but how many of us know anything more than that it is a vague and delightful ideal, a pacifist chimera? As a matter of fact it is nothing of the sort. Out of the practical needs of civilized nations there has grown up a form of internationalism that has been working successfully and uninterruptedly for over a hundred years. The Universal Postal Union, the Radiotelegraphic Union, the regulation of submarine cables, the Red Cross, the Opium Commission, the Union for the Suppression of the White Slave traffic are all recognized and enduring forms of internationalism. As far back as 1911 there were forty-five such international unions. In their essence they are nothing but the official recognition of common needs existing in all countries.

When General Pershing talks of abolishing chemical warfare he is preaching the doctrine of internationalism. Paradoxically enough, the War itself brought about many advances in internationalism. At the start we were all very up-stage about retaining the command of our own armies. But when the Germans pushed us back until we more or less had one leg in the Channel, our nationalism began to look wilted and instead of being six proud armies we became one rather humble international army under command of a Frenchman. It took us four years to learn that little lesson. It took us three years to learn the lesson that brought into existence the Wheat Executive and the Allied Maritime Council.

We were sharing not only man power, but brain power, in one vast concerted effort to win the war. But the point is that the need is just as great now as it was in those tremendous days of 1918. Politically we have all reverted to pre-war thinking, which, if you analyze it far enough, is simply based on fear and self-interest. The thought that those two impulses are at the root of what we are pleased to call civilization is not a very pretty one to contemplate. But because those two universal impulses reached their climax, ten million soldiers had to die. Whether they died by gas or shells is utterly unimportant. The fact is that they are dead. And the fact also is that unless we can change the impulses that govern our attitude towards each other, another ten million may have to march out to the same unnecessary and unspeakable death.

The new school knows that the gun on the hip, especially when it is a shiny new gun, makes most men yearn to try it on someone. While the old school retains all the old-time fears and aids to courage, the new school preaches the gospel of moral courage. While the old school remains passionately nationalistic —which means distrust your neighbor as you would the devil because he may grab something which you covet, the new school offers internationalism — which means an enlightened nationalism, in other words a nationalism which admits that our neighbor is not only a human being, but may even be a very decent fellow if we take the trouble to get to know him, perfectly ready to discuss ways and means with us if we don't scare him to death with the largest navy or the greatest army in the world.

If fighting and running away have their roots in the instinct of self-preservation, certainly internationalism has its root in the instinct of gregariousness.

The whole history of civilization is the history of gregariousness, the gradual getting together of men into larger and larger groups, the gradual spreading out of loyalty and pride from village to county, from county to state, from state to nation. All the temporary alliances between country and country that have waxed and waned according to political expediency during the last two hundred years have been unconscious admissions that the world is outgrowing nationalism. They are finger-prints to the wider community of interest which is internationalism.

I WAS over in France three years ago and I saw peasants still bringing in cartloads of dead soldiers. It was in the American sector too, near Chateau Thierry. But that was the last war, and we've forgotten all that now. We've got to think about the next!

With the shadow of our war dead hanging over us, the time has come to make a choice. We've got to choose between the old school and the new. You and I personally have got to decide whether we will slump back and let things rip in the old way, while we make money and drift and eventually read in the papers that our children have been killed in action; or whether we will have the courage to realize our moral responsibility to ourselves, our country and our civilization, and finally get rid of the ghastly threat of war.

We shall have to realize that everything we learned in college is not education at all but merely a preparation for education. We shall have to form the uncomfortable habit of pleading guilty to ignorance on about 90 per cent of the questions of domestic and foreign policy, and then go and acquire knowledge, slowly and painfully. We shall have to give up the comfortable habit of forming our opinions from the daily press, which at best is nothing but a slate on which to record hurriedly the happenings of each day, at worst an instrument to make us rush headlong into bloodshed by the blaring forth of deliberate misinformation. We have got to grasp the fact that public opinion is one of the most powerful factors in the life of any country, and that you and I are individual and responsible units of the public.

It's a long program and a hard one and involves for every individual a lifetime of sweat and fasting, of education and work. But the objective is worth it, for the result of an enlightened world is universal peace. The choice is up to you.

Pre-war thinking was based on fear and self-interest

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If War Came Tomorrow

"What a Great Difference in Diplomatic Relations an Army and Navy Make."—Will Rogers in the New York Times

By PETER E. TRAUB

Colonel, Cavalry, U. S. Army—Major General, commanding 35th Division, A. E. F.

HOW inhuman of Marstonia to make us fight to secure peace! To declare war on us who had no intention nor desire to fight. How barbarous! We who had fought a war to end all wars. We who knew there could be no more wars—to have our pious hopes thus rudely shattered!

It is true that pin-prick after pin-prick, untoward incident after untoward incident, had produced a gradually increasing ill-will between our governments and our peoples, but diplomacy would set all things right and if that failed then mediation, arbitration, anything short of war must settle the trouble and bring about an era of good understanding once again.

And *yet because she felt she could be victorious,* because she knew how small and how scattered our Army and Navy are, because she failed to take into account our money, our vast resources, our belief that "right made might," forgot our numerous world-wide benevolences—hateful Marstonia brought down upon us this bolt out of the blue!

The casings of straw wherewith we surrounded our policies, inclosed our armed forces, wrapped up our daily lives, our hopes, our fears are all consumed in a flame over night and "We, the People," once more stand stark before a tremendous catastrophe.

We wake up in the morning and with thrilling hearts and bated breath, here is what we read:

EXISTENCE OF WAR—MARSTONIA

By the President of the United States of America

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas the Congress of the United States in the exercise of the constitutional authority vested in them have resolved by joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives bearing date of ....., as follows:

"Whereas the Marstonian Government has committed repeated acts of war against the government and people of the United States of America: Therefore be it *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That a state of war is hereby declared to exist between the United States of America and the Marstonian Government; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the government to carry on war against the *Marstonian* Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."

Whereas by sections four thousand and sixty-seven, four thousand and sixty-eight, four thousand and sixty-nine, four thousand and seventy, of the Revised Statutes, provision is made relative to natives, citizens, denizens or subjects of a hostile nation or government, being males of the age of fourteen years and upwards, who shall be in the United States and not actually naturalized,

Now, therefore I, ..., President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim to all whom it may concern that a state of war exists between the United States and the *Marstonian* Government, and I do specially direct all officers, civil and military, of the United States that they exercise vigilance and zeal in the discharge of the duties incident to such a state of war; and I do, moreover, earnestly appeal to all American citizens, that they, in loyal devotion to their country, dedicated from its foundations to the principles of liberty and justice, uphold the laws of the land and give undivided and willing support to those measures which may be adopted by the constitutional authorities in prosecuting the war to a successful issue and in obtaining a secure and just peace.

And acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution of the United States and the aforesaid sections of the Revised Statutes, I do hereby further proclaim and direct that the conduct to be observed on the part of the United States towards all natives, citizens, denizens or subjects of *Marstonia,* being males of the age of fourteen years and upwards, who shall be within the United States and not actually naturalized, shall be as follows:

* * * * * * *

This proclamation and the regulations herein contained shall extend and apply to all land and water, continental or insular, in any way within the jurisdiction of the United States.

"In witness whereof, etc. ....."

THE die is cast. The time for talk is over. The time for action has come. Our patriotic pulse beats true, the heart of the nation throbs with high resolve in a common cause: To bring the war to a successful conclusion by "regulated violence," as speedily as possible, with as little wastage of life and treasure as—*Marstonia will permit.*

"We, the People," who, in "our organized unit of civilized existence" called the United States of America have striven, accumulated and enjoyed in peace must now strive, expend and sacrifice together, pledging "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor"—all we hold dear—as our forefathers did before us, if we would preserve that which they created and bequeathed to us as our heritage. We are alone. We must fight this fight by ourselves. This time no powers to be associated with. No Allies to hold the lines while we prepare in haste. In all the world there are *two belligerents* and the rest are *Neutrals,* observing, we trust with "due diligence," the "Laws of Neutrality"—that hazy code replete with danger to friend and foe alike.

Aliens of Marstonia are in our midst and seek to thwart us, enemy sympathizers seek to obstruct our efforts, enemy propaganda—of word and deed—has raised its hydra-head, and the President answers them in his Proclamation defining "Treason and Misprision of Treason" as a warning and a threat lest through ignorance or design those guilty of these and other acts find themselves involuntary guests in War Prison Barracks, established at various posts, by their stern host, Uncle Sam.

And now the eyes of the Nation turn longingly towards its Armed forces, its only hope and salvation in the crisis. The Army and the Navy who have never yet failed to bring peace when civilians failed to avert war. The uniform once more is welcome in our midst! Another straw casing is consumed! No danger now of reduction in officers or further reduction in already emasculated strength of Army and Navy—No, sir, now there are cheers, and flowers, and brass-bands and speeches, for its "Please to walk in front, sir, when the guns begin to shoot." There is now no difficulty about passing Acts making appropriations and to supply deficiencies for this fiscal year and prior fiscal years and for other purposes, such as:

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NATIONAL DEFENSE

"For the National Security and Defense and for each and every purpose connected therewith, to be expended at the discretion of the President, and to be immediately available and to remain available until expended, *one hundred million dollars!*"

A drop in the bucket, to be followed by other and larger drops as the "National Defense Bonds" bring in their billions.

Now the President by virtue of the power and authority vested in and conferred upon him by the Panama Canal Act of 1912 orders that the officer of the Army commanding the United States troops in the Canal Zone and his successors shall during the continuance of the war assume and have exclusive authority and jurisdiction over the operation of the Panama Canal including the entire control and government of the Canal Zone—the Governor thereof in all his duties to be subject to the order and direction of the officer of the Army in command. All must be immediately made safe and secure in that vital artery of communication.

ALL eyes are still turned towards our armed forces. They are anxious eyes, especially the eyes of those who did not believe in the preparedness prescribed by "We, the People," in our National Defense Act. Anxious, too, are the eyes of those who knew and understood, who struggled bravely but in vain to have the will of the people carried out.

Are our armed forces prepared to fight? Assuredly—such as they are! But a living skeleton, however fine its brain and organization, however strong its *will to win,* must have muscle and sinew, flesh and blood and practice therewith, before being pitted against a full-blooded, well-developed body, trained to the minute, with an equally fine brain and organization and an equally strong will to win.

Figs do not grow on thistles, nor even yet grapes on thorns. Cruisers, destroyers, submarines nor any other craft and sailors to man them, do not sprout in the sea; a fully equipped string of naval bases on both seas cannot now be willed nor put there by prayer nor by recrimination; air-planes are not born of the Empyrean; a million trained soldiers cannot be evolved from farm, factory or city over night, nor have we any magic carpets concealed anywhere to whisk them to either coast. No; Victory now will demand its sardonic toll of time, lives and treasure and thus once again is the great National casing of straw consumed by the flame of harsh and searing reality!

Speaking of magic carpets. The great fighting unit in an Army is the Infantry Division, comprising 20,000 officers and men. The 13 air-planes belonging to the Division Air Service are the nearest approach we have to the magic carpet. The remainder of the Division will require for its transportation 63 railroad trains totalling 2,059 passenger, box, flat-cars and cabooses. And our plans are for mobilizing six field armies, comprising 54 such Infantry Divisions, totalling 1,080,000 officers and men; 6 Cavalry divisions, totalling 45,294 officers and men and 57,690 animals; 18 Army Corps', 6 field armies' and General Headquarters' troops; troops of the Zone of the Interior; troops of the Zone of Communications and of other installations. Do you see now why in a war we have to arrange for a mobilization of 2,000,000 men and 200,000 officers? And remember we are raising them to fight our battles—there will be losses, sickness, breakdowns, so we must envisage the 4,000,000 mark as we had to before. And can you form now some conception of the supply and transportation problems for our industries, our railroads, our ships? And the time it will take before we are in full blast? Oh, about a year. And the expense? Oh, about 20 billions—as a good starter!

Well, let's take off our coats and get down to work. Everything is now rush and bustle. The President and his Cabinet Officers, the War Council, the Joint Boards, other Boards, the various Commissions of great and patriotic Officers and Citizens are working in harmony, meeting their grave responsibilities with every conceivable means at their disposal but all are casting anxious eyes at the Capitol. Congress has been deliberating for precious weeks undecided and on their decision, *which could and should have been made in time of Peace and years before,* rests the full and broad mobilization of all the resources of the country, both persons and materials. Shall it be "Equal Service for all and Special Profit for None?" Shall there be set such limits in prices as will prevent as far as possible all kinds of profiteering? Shall the man in the ranks serve on very small pay while others are left undisturbed to reap large profits?

While Congress is still deliberating let us glance hastily at some important instructions issued to our officers and men, Army and Navy, about the Conduct of War. War is "regulated violence." This violence is regulated by certain well-established and recognized rules, both written and unwritten, called "the laws of war."

The written rules are those that have been reduced to writing by means of conventions or treaties entered into by the principal civilized nations of the world after full discussion at The Hague, Geneva, Brussels and St. Petersburg. The unwritten rules are those well-recognized usages and customs that have developed into and become recognized as rules of warfare. These are still in process of development and are determined by three principles. *First,* that a belligerent is justified in applying any amount and any kind of force necessary for the purpose of war, that is, the complete submission of the enemy at the earliest possible moment with the least expenditure of men and resources. *Second,* the principle of Humanity, which expects that all such kinds and degrees of violence as are not necessary for the purpose of war are not permitted to a belligerent. *Third,* the principle of Chivalry, which demands a certain amount of fairness in offense and defense and a certain mutual respect between opposing forces. Woe to him and his government who violates "the laws of war." It makes a return to peace more difficult by leading to reprisals, and if persisted in reduces honorable warfare to barbarous warfare.

AT last, at last, the good news! Congress has passed the Universal Draft Act—hurrah!

Six weeks of vital time gone! How many lives, how much treasure does this cost? God alone knows!

Ah, Marstonia! This delay has given you an initial advantage, but *now* wait and see! And moreover, Marstonia, Neutrals (?) tell us you are attacking our *prestige* by your War Propaganda! You are finding to your discomfiture that the innate character of this Nation enables it to withstand the psychologic force you have let loose amongst us to lower our morale and that of our fighting forces and now you are making use of that same "stratagem of war" to bring Neutrals to your side! We too can manufacture paper bullets but despise them. Let the Truth prevail!

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Before we tackle the job of mobilizing our Man Power let us glean from an official report open to the public, what the situation is that confronts us. The National Defense Act was contrived after months of consideration by Congress to give muscle and sinew, flesh and blood to the three components of the Army of the United States—the Regular Army, the National Guard and the Organized Reserves, to be maintained in peace time as a suitable force on which to base expansion to meet this emergency. The plans contemplate increased strength so that the Regular Army may form one field army, the National Guard two field armies, the Organized Reserves three field armies.

Of the total strength required to carry out this mobilization we have available in these three components 50% of officers and 8% of enlisted men. This deficiency is especially serious in the Regular Army which must furnish overseas garrisons, carry on training of the other two components and furnish a force available for immediate use. We shall have to expand the ranks with a *large percentage of untrained men!* The rate at which units will be ready to take the field will depend upon their leaders. At present veteran officers of the world war remain our greatest asset of prospective officers. The Country now will see the reason for the maintenance of the R.O.T.C. in our Schools, Colleges and Universities which, by giving us some 6,000 young lieutenants each year, has enabled us to make up the wastage in the Organized Reserves. Likewise the advantage of our Citizens' Military Training Camps which have furnished us annually with several hundred lieutenants and with some 35,000 partly trained youngsters.

We cannot now depend upon the services in the ranks of the 4,000,000 trained citizens who served in 1917-1918. The responsibility must be passed to younger men—those of average age between 22 and 24. And so another casing of straw is consumed!

Now let us turn a moment to the mobilization of our resources. In the last eight years our war stocks of supplies have been much depleted. Supply factors will cause great handicaps in mobilization. For instance the Six-Field-Army plan calls for 550,000 animals. Our available supply is just 8% of that. Animals are holding their own with our available enlisted strength—also 8%. The seriousness of the situation lies in the fact that the supply rate of material requirements in the early stages of our emergency are now the determining factor in placing our forces in the field since man power can be assembled much more rapidly than material power. The condition of supplies tends to accentuate the importance of the force which can be equipped immediately either from stocks on hand or from open market purchases. Our plans provide for 2,000,000 men but if only 100,000 of them can be equipped for the field within a period of one month the defensive ability of that 100,000 becomes of critical importance.

NOW for the Mobilization of our man power. The Universal Draft Act passed by Congress provides *first* for the Regular Army and the President at once directs the raising by voluntary enlistment or draft, organizing, officering and equipping of the increments of the Regular Army provided by the National Defense Act and to raise all organizations of the Regular Army including those added by such increments to the maximum enlisted strength authorized by law. By the touch of this magic wand the units which are now at about half strength receive full body and blood and those inactive units that are non-existent, except on paper, are resurrected and given life—all eventually, after many months, to become efficient fighting units in our Field Armies.

Next it provides for the National Guard:

(a) The National Guard is part of the *militia* of the United States and as such it may be "called" into the service of the United States by the President.

TELEGRAM

Hon. (name), Governor of (State).

In order to protect the United States against invasion, the President has thought proper to exercise the authority vested in him by the Constitution and laws and to call out the National Guard necessary for that purpose. I am in consequence instructed by the President to call into the service of the United States, as of and from the ..... day of ....., nineteen hundred and ....., through you, the following National Guard Organizations of the State of ..... and all enlisted members of the National Guard Reserves assigned thereto, which the President desires shall be assembled at their respective armories on the date specified and await the orders of the War Department.

(List of Organizations)

....., Secretary of War

(b) Congress having specifically authorized in its Act the use of armed land forces in excess of the Regular Army, the President is authorized to change by means of the "Draft," the status of the National Guard and National Guard Reserves from that of *Militia* to that of another component of the Army of the United States, divested of the militia character. This *draft,* after quoting the authority therefor, reads in part:

"I, ..., President of the United States, hereby draft into the military service of the United States as of and from the ..... day of ....., nineteen hundred and ....., all members of the National Guard and all enlisted members of the National Guard Reserves of the several States and of the District of Columbia, who were called into the service of the United States by instructions issued by me on ....."

* * * * * * *

In the third place, by authority conferred by this Act of Congress the President makes use of Organized Reserves and by direction and because of wise decentralization Corps Area Commanders issue the necessary orders, ordering to "active duty," units of the Organized Reserves within their jurisdiction as provided for in their Corps Area Mobilization Plans based upon the War Department's Plans. The order specifies the date upon which it will become effective and upon which units and individuals will assemble at their home rendezvous or mobilization points.

Finally under the Universal Draft authorization the President selects his Provost Marshal General and proceeds to raise *by draft,* organize and equip a force of 500,000 men; and in his discretion and at such time as he may determine, and in the same manner, he proceeds to raise, organize, equip and begin the training of an additional force of 500,000 men.

The *"draft"* thus provided for is based upon liability to military service of all male citizens or male persons not alien enemies, who have declared their intention to become citizens, between the ages of 21 and 30 years. And if the war lasts long enough the age will be increased in later *"drafts"* to include 45 years of age if necessary! *Quotas* for the several States are determined in proportion to the population and credit given for the number of men who are already in military service. To secure them the President creates and establishes through the Governors local draft boards, approximately one to every 30,000 population, consisting of three or more members, (*Continued on page* 50)

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The New Balance of Justice

Where Shall the United States Throw Its Weight?

By JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN

IN 1910 President Taft voiced a sentiment which had been rapidly growing in the United States, that all questions between nations which cannot be settled by negotiation should be referred to courts of arbitration for decision. Soon after Lord Grey, debating naval armament in the House of Commons, added an international note. If Great Britain and the United States should take such an engagement, he said:

> I think it would probably lead to their following it up by an agreement that they would join with each other in any case in which one only had a quarrel with a third power by which arbitration was refused. And more and more the tendency which is growing in the world to recognize that war between two great countries must not only be a serious thing for them but must be a serious thing for neutral powers through the disturbance it causes, the more and more . . . nations would come to the conclusion as between themselves, that they were not going to fight, but that it was their interest to join together to keep the peace of the world.

The World War soon came to prove how clearly the British statesman saw the issue, and the rapid development of machinery for peaceful settlement of international disputes since fighting ceased, is there to show that some of the nations of the world, at least, have learned the lesson. For that machinery is being constructed not only on the basis of an agreement for arbitration between two governments, but it is being founded on the wide basis that it is to the interest of other nations than the parties that they observe their agreements to turn to peaceful means of settling their disputes.

It is striking enough that Germany and her neighbors by the pact of Locarno of 1925 "undertake to settle by peaceful means and in the manner laid down herein, all questions of every kind which may arise between them and which it may not be possible to settle by the normal methods of diplomacy;" it is far more striking that Great Britain and Italy agree to make common cause against the government which breaks its contract and commits an act of aggression against its neighbor. This is a new kind of alliance and a new principle in the policy of Europe. It takes the place of the old system of securing peace and the interests of the peoples of the old continent through the balance of power, a system which necessarily led to "bigger and better" armies and navies and air fleets, so that the balance might be tipped to one side or the other. The new system substitutes the balance of justice for the balance of power; organizes the great powers of Europe not only to preserve peace, but to make that peace the sole kind which can be lasting, peace through justice. It progresses far beyond the stage marked by the arbitration treaty, it expresses in concrete form the idea of Lord Grey that it is to the "interest of the nations to join together to keep the peace of the world."

The influence of the new system will not be felt in Europe alone. It is in conflicts between governments in that continent that the great wars have originated which have spread to all the world, and the governments which are trying the great experiment are working for the Americas, for Asia, for Africa, as well as for themselves. When the Locarno treaties were entrusted to the Council of the League, the delegate of Uruguay said, "It is not only Europe which should rejoice at the execution of these agreements, but the whole world. The work of Locarno is of concern to all mankind."

Locarno is based on the League of Nations. The Council of the League is the body which finally decides questions which the parties are not willing to submit to judicial decision or arbitration, and the pact itself depends on the entrance of Germany into the League. The Covenant of the League, as do the Pacts of Locarno, rests on the common interest in peace, on the common duty to assume a share in the burden of assuring that peace. It provides a means of settling disputes and binds its members to join in punishing those states which go to war instead of following the procedure they have agreed upon. That procedure includes judicial settlements of questions of rights, investigation by conciliation commissions of other disputes, and settlement by the Council of the League. It puts into effect a policy of mutual insurance against war from which we shall largely profit.

Not only is it clear from an experience of over nearly a century and a half, that a great war in Europe is certain to involve our country and that in consequence we are interested in preventing a conflagration in that continent, but the expense and risk of increasing armaments can only be stopped if another means be found for guaranteeing national security than battleships and Big Berthas. The Congress of the United States, when under the shadow of the Great War, expressed clearly in a statute approved by the President on August 29, 1926, this last interest in international cooperation for peace. The United States "realizes that no single nation can disarm, and that without a common agreement upon the subject every considerable power must maintain a relative standing in military strength," but that common agreement, experience shows, must depend on something more than agreements between two states to arbitrate differences. The weight of the common interest in peace must be thrown into the scale.

Europe has gone forward since 1916 and has put into binding agreements the aspirations of President Taft and the American Congress. The United States will profit by the protection of the insurance against war in the compact of the Covenant of the League and of the Pact of Locarno, but this country is not providing its share of the premium.

It is not necessary that the United States become a guarantor under the Pact of Locarno or even that this country adhere to the League Covenant in order to put her great

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influence behind these contracts of insurance against war. Even before the United States entered the war, an American organization, the League to Enforce Peace, had developed the economic weapon for the war against war. The machinery of international courts or conciliation councils was recommended as a substitute for force, and in the third article of its program the League says:

> The signatory powers shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against any one of their number that goes to war, or commits acts of hostility, against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted as provided

in arbitration and conciliation treaties.

The idea of economic action was taken over by the draftsmen of the Covenant. In Article 16, the members of the League agree that if any member "resort to war in disregard" of its agreement to submit a dispute to the Court of conciliation or arbitration, the other members

> . . . undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the League or not.

The effectiveness of the economic sanction depends on its inclusiveness. If a great state like the United States refuses to apply the rule, then supplies of money and goods will continue to flow into the covenant-breaking state and the business will be more profitable to its citizens in proportion to the degree in which other governments refuse to allow their people to go to the aid of the offender against the common interest in peace. For under the principles of neutrality the power of the United States would be behind the right of its citizens to trade with the offending state provided that the goods shipped were not contraband or bound to a blockaded destination. Whether the goods are so liable to capture frequently depends on the views which the two governments take of the rights of their citizens. Naturally a belligerent government in command of the sea will be reluctant to take extreme measures against the protest of so strong a country as the United States, and consequently an economic blockade will be less effectual if Americans demand that they be judged by the old rules.

The principles of neutrality are based on equal treatment of both belligerents within the law. It was not possible in past times for one country to pass judgment on the right in a war, since there was no objective standard by which a nation could be judged, and which pointed out the wrong-doer as between the fighting powers. This situation has been substantially modified by the Covenant and the Pact of Locarno. The nations which have signed those agreements bind themselves to submit their differences to peaceful settlement by a definite procedure, and if they do not, that they shall be treated as covenant-breaking. Clearly, then, a nation which refuses to carry out its own agreement, made not to one other country but to the fifty-six nations in the League or to the Powers of Europe signatory to the Pact of Locarno, puts itself in a position where it should not be treated as of equal right with the nations banded together to defend world peace and the sanctity of contract.

The test is objective, and will usually be clear. The United States can apply it through its own agencies and on its own interpretation. The President issues at the outbreak of every war in which the United States is not involved, a neutrality proclamation which lays down the rules which will govern our people in their dealings with both sides. So far as they act within those rules, they will have the protection of the government, but they act outside of them at their own peril. Where one of the belligerents was bound by the Covenant or the Pact of Locarno, or any similar agreement, and attacked without carrying out the agreement, then the President on finding that the covenant-breaking state had no justification for its action, could add to the neutrality proclamation a warning to Americans that this government would not protect them in any trade with the wrong-doing state. If the covenant-defending state had command of the sea, this independent action on the part of the United States would be sufficient to stop trade, but a further step, again not involving complications with foreign governments, would be to apply an embargo in the ports of the United States against any goods for the covenant-breaking state. If, however, the covenant-breaking state were a sea power, then the embargo would become necessary at once, and the United States could further refuse to permit warships or merchant vessels of the guilty state to coal or to secure supplies in our ports.

In neither case would there need to be any interference with normal commercial life within our territory. The belligerent government or its merchants might be permitted to buy goods or carry on business here without interference except that the goods purchased must be prevented from leaving our shores to aid the government in carrying on its unjust war. An embargo would need an act of Congress which could either be passed at the outbreak of each war, or better, as a general authority to the President to be exercised when he finds that a belligerent state has refused to carry out its obligations.

Such power has been given him to stop shipment of munitions of war to American countries in which domestic violence exists, and under it both President Wilson and President Coolidge have acted to prevent the breaking out of revolution in Mexico, or to circumscribe the spread of a revolution under way. Similarly, the President could be authorized to act promptly in the event of the outbreak of a war between states defending and states breaking a covenant for peaceful settlement, subject, if the Congress desired, to submit his action to their approval. This procedure would involve no obligation to foreign powers, and the United States could withdraw its prohibition if it became later convinced that its action had been mistaken, that justice required equal treatment of both sides.

Such action would be far from that which members of the League have assumed under Article 16 of the Covenant, but it would be sufficient to assure the moral support of the richest and, perhaps the strongest, member of the international community, to those who were upholding organized peace. The position of the United States would be stronger if Congress passed an act declaring the policy of this country, authorizing the President to apply it when need arose. Then states considering action in breach of their covenant would be advised of the position of the United States and the effect of the application of its modified form of economic sanction on the fortunes of war. Reflection would be probable, and with reflection, restraint.

A more definite solution of the (*Continued on page* 49)

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MURALS of the BEATITUDES

By Eugene Savage

MILITARY pomp and conquest have no glorification in the twelve fine mural paintings designed for the colonnade of the Elks national war memorial building in Chicago. They honor the merciful, the peacemakers, those that hunger and thirst after righteousness; for these best represent the unselfish purpose of the United States in the World War, according to the artist's conception. In this panel the Sermon on the Mount rises above a militant Justice. Mr. Savage's interpretation of two of the beatitudes follows

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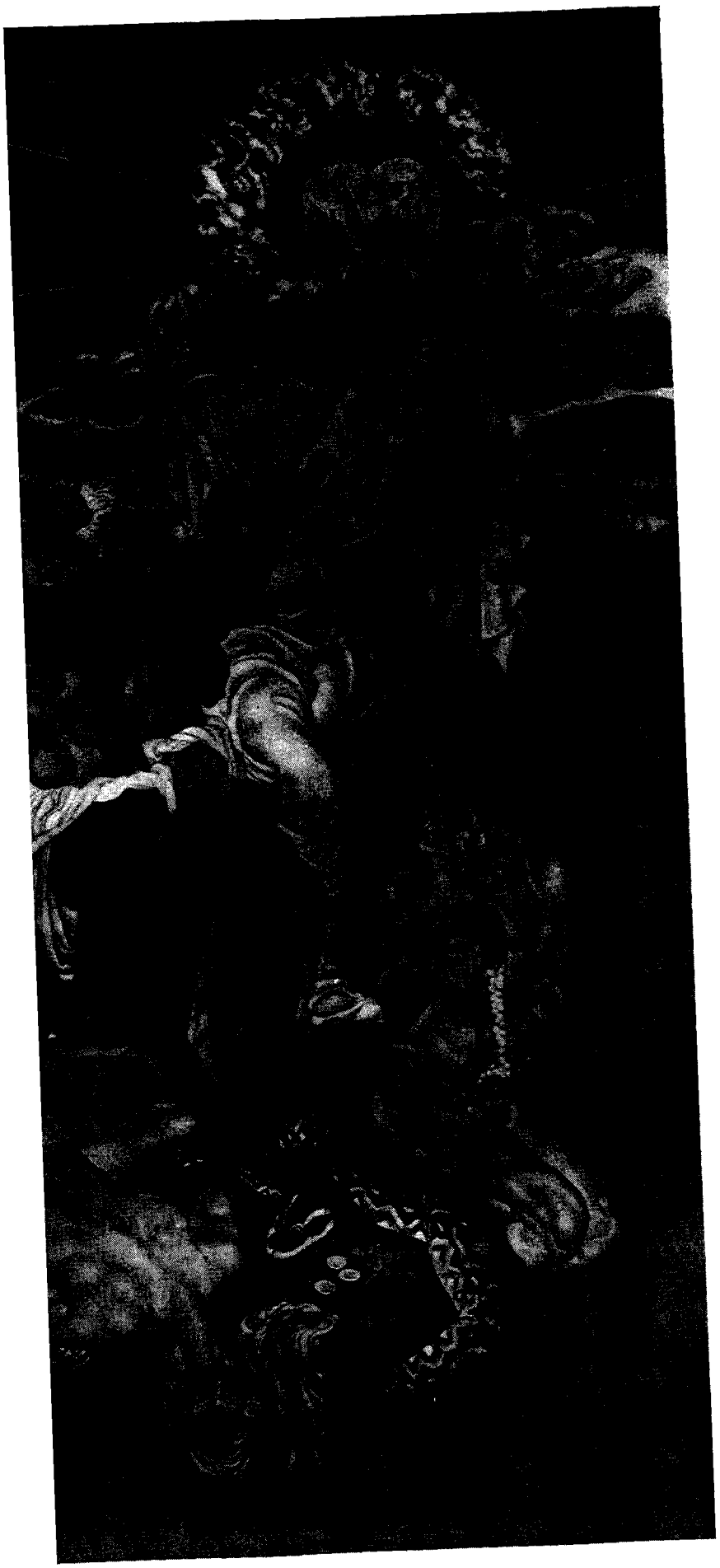

"They Shall Be Filled

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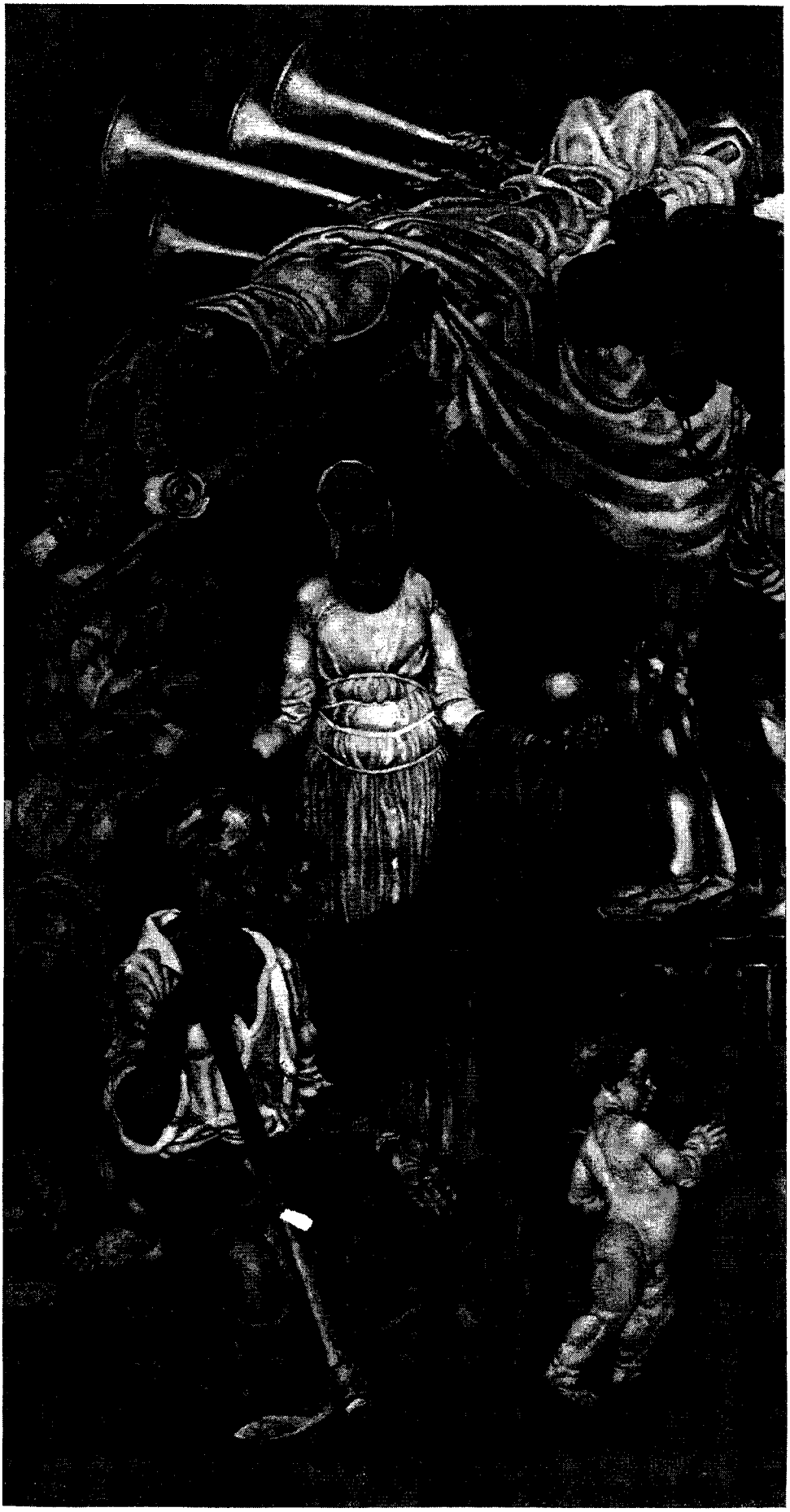

"They Shall Inherit the Earth"

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Imperializing the Monroe Doctrine

By PARKER THOMAS MOON

OUR Latin-American policy is under fire. It is under such telling bombardment by Senator Borah, by liberal journals, and by those whom Richard Washburn Child amiably describes as "the chorus of calamity-howlers," that a once eminently laconic President has been moved to defend it in his official messages and through his not at all laconic "Spokesman." He has asked the press to give the "correct" presentation of the "American attitude." And to make easier the task of journalism, the State Department has alternated with the Spokesman in issuing one "correct" explanation after another to defend a single item of the Administration's Latin-American policy—the Nicaraguan maneuver. To dismiss this unwonted official volubility with the sophisticated comment, *"Qui s'excuse, s'accuse,"* would be easy enough, but it would not answer the questions Americans are asking themselves.

Is it fair to accuse the United States of imperialism?

Are we not simply following out the consequences of the Monroe Doctrine?

On both questions sharp division of opinion exists, chiefly because terms such as "imperialism" and "Monroe Doctrine" are used to cover a multitude of meanings.

If we define "imperialism" as a malignant form of megalomania peculiar to Europe, one of our questions is quickly dismissed. That, in essence, is the way it is disposed of in highly authoritative circles. In his memorable Armistice Day Address, President Coolidge minced no words in declaring that America "cherishes no Imperialistic designs." Less bluntly, the president of the New York Stock Exchange demolished what he styled "the myth of American financial imperialism" by showing that the imperialist union of high finance and high politics was a pre-war phenomenon limited to Europe, and to the continent of Europe at that. The distinguished master of fiction and diplomacy whose phrase was quoted above, Richard Washburn Child, writing in a very popular weekly which also combines fiction with international affairs, has very vehemently rebuked those who "bellow at their own United States the meaningless word 'imperialist.'"

YET that "meaningless word" has several perfectly definite meanings in the neglected dictionary, and a very distinct significance in the world of real politics. It means empire-building and the more difficult business of empire-holding. Specifically it is used today to describe the extension of ownership or control by the Great Powers (and some small) over weaker, "backward" or undeveloped countries.

European powers have gained and extended their colonial empires by conquest and annexation, by purchase and treaty cession, but also by subtler methods such as the "protectorate," the "veiled protectorate," the "sphere of interest," the "leased port," military "occupation," financial "control," and "peaceful penetration." In Europe, the mask of such subtleties has been worn transparently thin. Tunis may be only a French "protectorate," but it is universally regarded as a French possession. British map-makers do not leave out protectorates. Even German "penetration" of Turkey, before the great débâcle, was recognized for what it was. On this side the Atlantic, however, the subtleties are less familiar. There are still some Americans to whom "imperialism" means outright annexation, and to whom "intervention," or "receivership," or "lease," can not be at all synonymous with that sinister word.

A SUMMARY comparison of established facts ought to dissipate all doubt on this score. Examine the methods of European imperialism and of American policy. Military conquest was the means by which England won the Sudan, and parts of India and Burma; and by which France won Algeria; and Italy, Libia; the list could easily be extended. By way of comparison, the United States took Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines by the sword, but in the Philippines at least the sword was gold-plated, for conquest was covered by payment of twenty million dollars to Spain. The method of "leasing," rather than annexing, territory has been used by the United States more frequently—to acquire the Panama Canal Zone, the Guantanamo naval base, the Corn Islands, and the naval base rights in the Gulf of Fonseca. Leases had previously been used by Germany, Italy and England to acquire the East African coast from Zanzibar, and by Germany, Russia, England, and France to acquire naval bases on the Chinese coast. If we turn to the still more ingenious methods of "occupation," "receiverships," and "advisers," the parallel still holds. American "occupation" of the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924, and of Haiti since 1915, and of Nicaragua from 1912 to 1925 and from 1926 to who-knows-when, may be matched by the British "occupation" of Egypt from 1882 on, Russian "occupation" of Manchuria after the Boxer trouble, and Italian "occupation" of Dodekanesia. If there were space, one might even argue, as I have attempted elsewhere,* that the right of exclusive intervention, the right on occasion to veto foreign concessions, and the development of financial penetration have long been recognized in Europe as earmarks of a "sphere of interest," albeit in America they may be considered merely corollaries of the Monroe Doctrine. The meaning of the recent policy of the United States in the zone between the Rio Grande and the Canal begins to dawn on one's mind only after a certain familiarity has been acquired with spheres of interest in Persia and in China.

In a word, the United States has indulged in what was called imperialism when Europeans practised it. And indulged effectively! Since the Civil War we have acquired, outright, over 700,000 square miles; and we have acquired control over dependencies aggregating, roughly, 200,000 square miles. That compares fairly enough with the achievement of Italy or of Germany (before the war) or of Japan —as regards area. But as regards the vital matter, com-

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merce, the new colonial empire of the United States surpasses those of all rivals excepting only the incomparable Britain. It may be true, as President Coolidge affirms, that the United States is not "infatuated with any vision of empire," but if we have no such vision, we have the reality. It is time we opened our eyes to that reality.

That is not an accusation. It is merely a description of fact. It is not meant as an accusation, because imperialism is not a wholly sinister thing, not wholly an expression of ruthless greed. It would not be so prevalent if it had no genuine causes, no humane results, no moral justifications. To make the matter specific, the imperialist trend of American policy in the tropical part of Latin America since 1898 has been less a matter of deliberate aggression than of unconsidered response to urgent stimuli. That is one dangerous element in it. Vacillating and visionless meddling, without calculation of cumulative and future results, may be more disturbing than well-planned and systematic expansion. But to condemn the meddling without appreciating its causes is as futile as it is unfair.

Liberals and anti-imperialists will do wisely to recognize frankly that the existence of politically unstable and economically undeveloped countries between the Rio Grande and the Canal constitutes a real problem, not easily solved by a simple formula of non-intervention. To talk as if these countries were democracies and to discuss with solemn mien the niceties of their constitutions, is unrealistic, if not a little ludicrous, whether the talking is done by the State Department or by the opposition. Secretary Kellogg at first, last November, seemed to make our Nicaraguan policy dependent upon the correct rendering of the words *defecto* and *falta de* in the Nicaraguan constitution. It was imprudent to assume so vulnerable a position. But it would require rare naïveté to believe that the real purpose of our marines, bluejackets, and cruisers was to instruct the Nicaraguans in the meaning of one or two Spanish words.

THE Nicaraguan expedition is not an isolated episode to be debated on its own merits, but rather it is one of many symptoms of a condition. Revolutions and coups d'état have been common throughout tropical America. Between 1886 and 1915 Haiti had eleven presidents, all styled generals, four of whom were killed and six deposed by revolution. Santo Domingo had at least eight upheavals worth recording between the assassination of Heureaux in 1899 and American intervention in 1916. The Central-American republics have suffered from the chronic disposition of "Liberal" and "Conservative" juntas to oust each other by force. Mexico's harrowing "revolution" is well enough remembered. To a certain degree, it may be admitted, American and other foreign financial assistance to revolutions has aggravated this turbulence. But there would not have been revolutions to finance, or to receive recognition and support, if it were not for political instability deeply rooted in undemocratic social and economic conditions.

In itself, this condition would not cause imperialistic revision of the Monroe Doctrine. But in conjunction with two other factors it presents problems which it would be folly to minimize. One factor is economic penetration. That includes loans to governments, establishment of branch banks, investments in plantations, mines, oil wells, railways, lumbering, and sundry other activities of American and European capital. Unquestionably our international problems would be simpler if capital refrained from such activities in the Caribbean. But capital will not refrain. Nor would the withdrawal of all foreign investments be entirely desirable. The economic development of the Caribbean would be retarded, and political progress postponed.

THE other factor is the almost universally accepted diplomatic doctrine that a government has the duty of protecting its nationals and their property abroad. It is this doctrine, rather than the inevitable fact of foreign investments, that should be the focus of attention. Natural though it seems, the doctrine is no eternal verity. It was formerly less popular than at present. It is effectively practised today only when protection is feasible, chiefly in the case of weak and backward countries. It may conceivably be modified, or replaced in time by another doctrine, which will secure the same object with less difficulty.

These factors have caused the United States government, during the past three decades, to re-interpret the Monroe Doctrine in the light of contemporary conditions. The Monroe Doctrine is being imperialized. It was once a "shield" against European imperialism. Some Europeans now consider it a screen for American imperialism. Perhaps a truer metaphor would make the traditional doctrine an old skin into which the new wine of imperialism has been poured.

That metaphor may seem irreverent to those who, in Mrs. Eddy's immortal words, "believe in the Monroe Doctrine, in our Constitution, and in the laws of God." To so many Americans the Monroe Doctrine is a sacred name for whatever they believe should be our policy toward Latin America! If the name is given at will to whatever policy American statesmen practice toward Latin America, there is nothing to be gained by discussing it. If, on the other hand, the Monroe Doctrine means the doctrine which President Monroe enunciated in 1823, the problem is easily clarified.

Monroe said, "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere." That part of the Monroe Doctrine became a dead letter when we interfered in 1898 with the Spanish possessions of Cuba and Porto Rico.

Monroe also declared that the United States would regard as an "unfriendly" act any attempt of a European power to oppress or control the destiny of any of the independent Latin-American nations. That warning still holds good. But it is inadequate. It said nothing about our acquiring canal rights, leasing naval bases, instituting financial receiverships, and the like. It said nothing about customs houses, government bonds, or concessions. These things are typical features of modern imperialism, as any one familiar with the story of European imperialism will recognize at a glance. The Monroe Doctrine was silent on our sanitary mission in the Caribbean, our mission to eradicate yellow fever and wage war on germs, for mankind in 1823 lived in blissful ignorance of bacteria.

The newer imperialist policies are controversial because, plausible as may be their justification in other respects, they are open to three criticisms. 1. They are inconsistent with our professed advocacy of peaceful arbitration or adjudication of international disputes. President Coolidge very recently, and other presidents before him have, proclaimed

Imperialism and World Politics, Macmillan, 1926, pp. 414-ff.

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our predilection for peaceful justice. Yet in dealing with Mexico, the Caribbean island-republics, and Central America, the State Depatment has repeatedly called upon the navy and the marines, rather than on courts or arbitral commissions. Europe and Latin America perceive this inconsistency, if we do not. Sometimes it is called hypocrisy. At a time when the world is attempting to substitute justice for aggressive military force, the American people would not, if they were conscious of the issue, desire to have acts of military aggression entered upon their record. They would desire the State Department to exhaust every means of peaceful settlement before using violence, in the future, to coerce a Haiti. Or a Mexico.

2. Although the new methods may seem, to the State Department, the most practical and expeditious means for achieving its ends, they are not "practical" in the long run. They have already roused a deal of hostility and fear in Latin America and of suspicion in Europe. These psychological reactions may ultimately have economic consequences for our foreign trade, and political consequences for our security, much more far-reaching than the relatively minor advantages gained by Caribbean interventions.

3. Too frequently the State Department has used military intervention in Caribbean countries for the profit of private business interests in a way that inevitably evokes criticism. For example, it may have appeared in 1915 that American intervention in Haiti was designed to prevent French intervention, or to prevent Germany from securing a harbor. But when, some years later, the State Department published its documents for 1914 and 1915 in "Foreign Relations of the United States," it appeared that the Department had been singularly solicitous regarding American financial interests in the Haitian National Railway and the Haitian National Bank. Once the marines were in control of Haiti, these financial interests were generously provided for. Again, in turning over the department's documents for an earlier year, one finds our diplomatic representative in Nicaragua urging that naval forces be retained there to prevent the Liberal majority from overthrowing the Conservative government, at least until a loan could be put through; that is to say, the Department was using armed force to maintain an unpopular government which would agree to a loan floated by American bankers. Now it may be true, as partisans of dollar diplomacy have held, that the bankers really handled the loan simply to oblige the State Department. If so, they deserve credit for their rather exceptional altruism. But such items do not make a prepossessing appearance in the record. There will always be some readers who will entertain a suspicion that the bankers were interested in their profits. There will always be some shrewd historian to point out, as Professor Shepherd has recently done, that the increase of American intervention in the Caribbean has been paralleled by the increase of American investments there, during the past thirty years, from "a paltry two or three hundred millions of dollars to the tidy sum of upwards of three billions."

TWO sets of facts have been put forward, perhaps too summarily, in the foregoing paragraphs: the facts that cause the new imperialism, and the facts that cause criticism of it. Instead of maintaining a watertight partition between them, why not put the facts together? How can the aims, in so far as they are legitimate, be secured without the disadvantages and dangers inherent in the present methods? Common-sense realism asks such questions.

Beginning conservatively, we might at least agree that if the armed forces of the United States are employed in defense of American lives and property, or of foreigners (to prevent foreign intervention), the State Department should exercise some care while protecting legitimate property to avoid insisting on undue profits, or recognition of uncertain property claims, for the benefit of American private business interests. The American people have the right to demand that their integrity in such matters shall be scrupulously maintained.

PERHAPS we could also agree that armed intervention should not be used for the purpose of conquest, whether the conquest is hidden behind subtleties or not. If the marines are used to coerce weak countries like Haiti and Nicaragua into signing away their independence, even though the process be ingeniously contrived by installing puppet governments, we cannot disclaim imperialism, and military imperialism at that. Fortunately the Senate has more than once served as a check on efforts of the Department to carry out veiled protectorate projects. In this matter, the vigilance of the Senate, backed by public opinion, is a valuable safeguard.

To go a step farther, one may ask whether, when armed intervention seemed necessary, we could not call upon some international body such as the Pan-American Union (the League Council might be more appropriate, were we a member of the League) to attempt conciliation, endorse the justice of our cause, and clear us of all suspicion of unjustified aggression or imperialism. Of course that would mean renouncing our freedom to intervene except on just cause. But how many Americans wish to intervene unjustly?

If that proposal seems difficult, at any rate there should be little hesitation about a less drastic suggestion. If, when the finances of a Haiti or a Nicaragua seem chaotic, we use force directly or indirectly to establish an American financial receivership or advisorship, we are accused of imperialism. But if we could have such a receivership or financial advisorship established under international supervision, the legitimate interests of bankers and bond-holders could be safeguarded as well, perhaps even more easily. Had Jeremiah Smith been imposed on Hungary by the single-handed action of the United States, he would have been no more efficient, and much less welcome, than he was when appointed by an international agency which could not be suspected of imperialistic designs. Why not try a similar method in the Caribbean?

If American liberals could concentrate their efforts on a program of fairly specific constructive propositions such as these are intended to typify (and they are intended only as types, not as items of a definitive program), instead of throwing their energy into an idealistic but negative denunciation of imperialism, they would have a better prospect of guiding our Latin-American policy into safe and honorable channels. The State Department consists of men who are trying to meet in "practical" ways the real emergencies which confront them. If they can be convinced that more practical policies could be substituted for the new imperialism, they would perhaps experience a sense of relief. After all, being under fire may be exciting, but it is far from comfortable.

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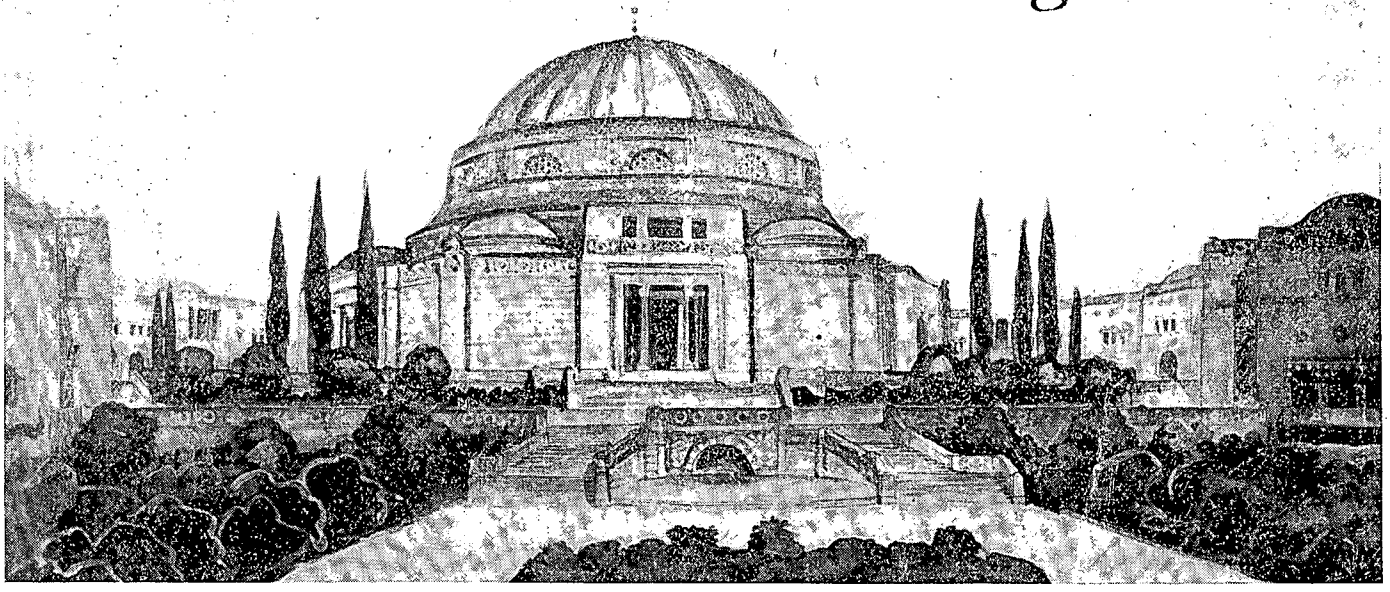
The Future is Moving East



Center Building, Hebrew University at Jerusalem

Designed by Patrick Geddes

By HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER

WHEN President Wilson promulgated the idea of "self-determination of nations," eastern Europe knew that he meant IT. Revolutions followed from the Baltic to the Red Seas, and America acquired a lasting importance that cannot be appreciated by travelers on the Grand Tour of western Europe where they hear that America is unpopular.

It is not so much that we are rich as that we have entered into the heritage of western Europe that rankles. The German Empire has been shorn of both territory and prestige. However much of a come-back Germany may make, it is inconceivable that the Empire or the awe of Germany should be significant in the old sense. No one can expect a return of Austria-Hungary. The numbers, wealth and prestige of France are inevitably leading her to the status of a second-rate power. Great Britain, still with much power and tremendous momentum, has well been described as an Empire Emeritus. Ireland has broken her prestige, and India, Egypt and the Arabian world will either succeed in their struggles for independence or will soon secure such modifications as will merely enable England to save her face while losing the substance.

We may lend money to the old states, visit them and talk much about them, but the significant influence of the United States leaps over the Atlantic and western Europe at a bound. In western Europe I found envy for America which took the form of both hate and disparagement. They see our materialism, and compensate themselves by despising our culture. They would like our wealth, while they despise us for having it; but they ignore our spiritual achievements. A typical attitude is expressed in the Kreuz Zeitung by a correspondent warning "inquisitive Germans" away from the United States. He says: "America has nothing to offer cultured Europeans. Scratch an American and you are sure to find that he is nothing more than a piece of machinery."

Eastern Europe would like our wealth, but they also see our idealism, our democracy, and our experimentation. They know that we are still learning, and they would like to share in what we learn rather than imitate the finished old cultures. In spite of our political ostracism, I am sure that the United States is furnishing more ideas to Russia than all the rest of the world combined.

The United States is the country of the present and is not yet fully ripe, but it may be looked upon as approaching early autumn. The East of which I speak is in the spring. We have been so filled with the notion that the direction of civilization is towards the West that it has somehow seemed to be inherent in the nature of the universe that no other direction is conceivable. This, however, is only an illusion arising out of contemporary conditions. The geographical limits set by the Pacific Ocean and the vigor of the Oriental has compelled the western flow of migration to come to a halt. The picture is like that of a torrent of water which strikes a wall and, leaping up, falls back upon itself.

A change in relationship and direction of movement does not mean extermination and differences in culture do not mean that any are valueless; but psychologically, a generation or an epoch may be surfeited by one culture and turn to another, just as no political party can hold office indefinitely and no popular song long remain popular; each is supplanted by another. In my opinion we are on the eve

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of such a change. The song of western efficiency and Christian dogmatism is becoming unsatisfying even to the performers.

The changes perhaps will not be any more radical than those in the transitions from Ilium to Athens, Greece to Rome, Italy to the Holy Roman Empire, or Europe to America, but since they have hitherto all taken place from east to west a reversal of direction seems more of a shock, and the effect of greater portent.

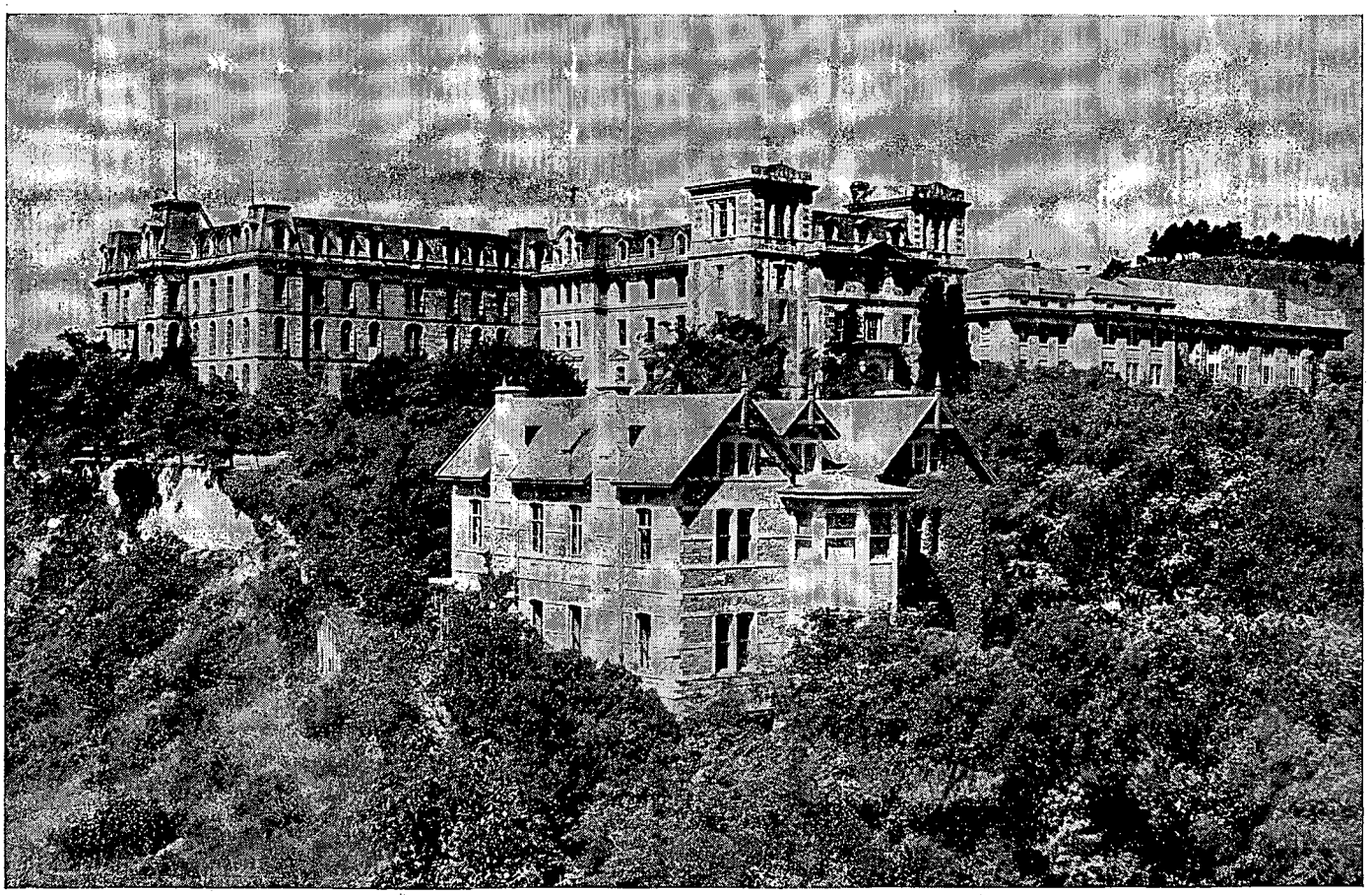
ANOTHER name for Western Civilization is Christendom, though it includes only that part of Christendom covered by the Roman Catholic-Protestant heritage. The hundred and fifty million Christians who belong to the Greek Orthodox Church, which originated from a schism that preceded the Protestant Reformation by many centuries, have not been included. The majority of the members of the Greek Church are Slavs—Russians, Serbs and Bulgarians.

In western Europe there has been a very close relation between the church and the state. This meant that religion did not serve primarily as a guide to individual conduct but as a motive for conformity and resignation. The result was that vigorous minds reacted against it. When I told a prominent bishop in southern Europe that I had changed my connection to a state university from a college of religious origin where he had previously known me, he expressed regret, saying that the War was the product of the materialist graduates of the state universities. My own conclusion is that the peculiar materialism of the state universities of central Europe was due to state control of religion. When I told a more liberal archbishop of the Orthodox Church in a neighboring country this story and also that I thought that the attitude of the Bolsheviks towards the church in Russia was the healthiest thing that could have happened to it, he fully agreed.

Although the heterogeneity and prosperity of America make comparisons with other countries difficult, nevertheless I am convinced that there will be more spiritual communion between America and eastern Europe and the new Mohammedan movements than with western Europe.

This will not be due so much to the pioneer activities of America's organizations, such as the missionaries, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., Red Cross, Famine Relief, Quakers, and Near East Relief, as to the fact that there was already a confidence and preparedness to understand these very organizations. This preparedness grew out of the fact that the peoples had repudiated so much of the old and that they expected America to be the symbol of what they hoped to be. Tourists have come back from England, France, Italy, and somewhat less from Germany, saying that the people are hostile to Americans. I traveled in fifteen countries east of these, and never saw the slightest sign of hostility, but many signs of friendship. The immigrants to America have contributed much to this attitude. The letters and money which they have sent back have given an impression very different from that which the newspapers and tourists give in the West.

I was in a factory school in Moscow. The foreman and instructor was a most enthusiastic Bolshevik and proud of what the Soviets had accomplished. But he had worked in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, for eight years. He said to me that it would be twenty years before Russia caught up



Courtesy Near East College Association

"The general cultural superiority of Bulgaria is to a considerable degree due to the fact that many of her statesmen have been graduates of Robert College."

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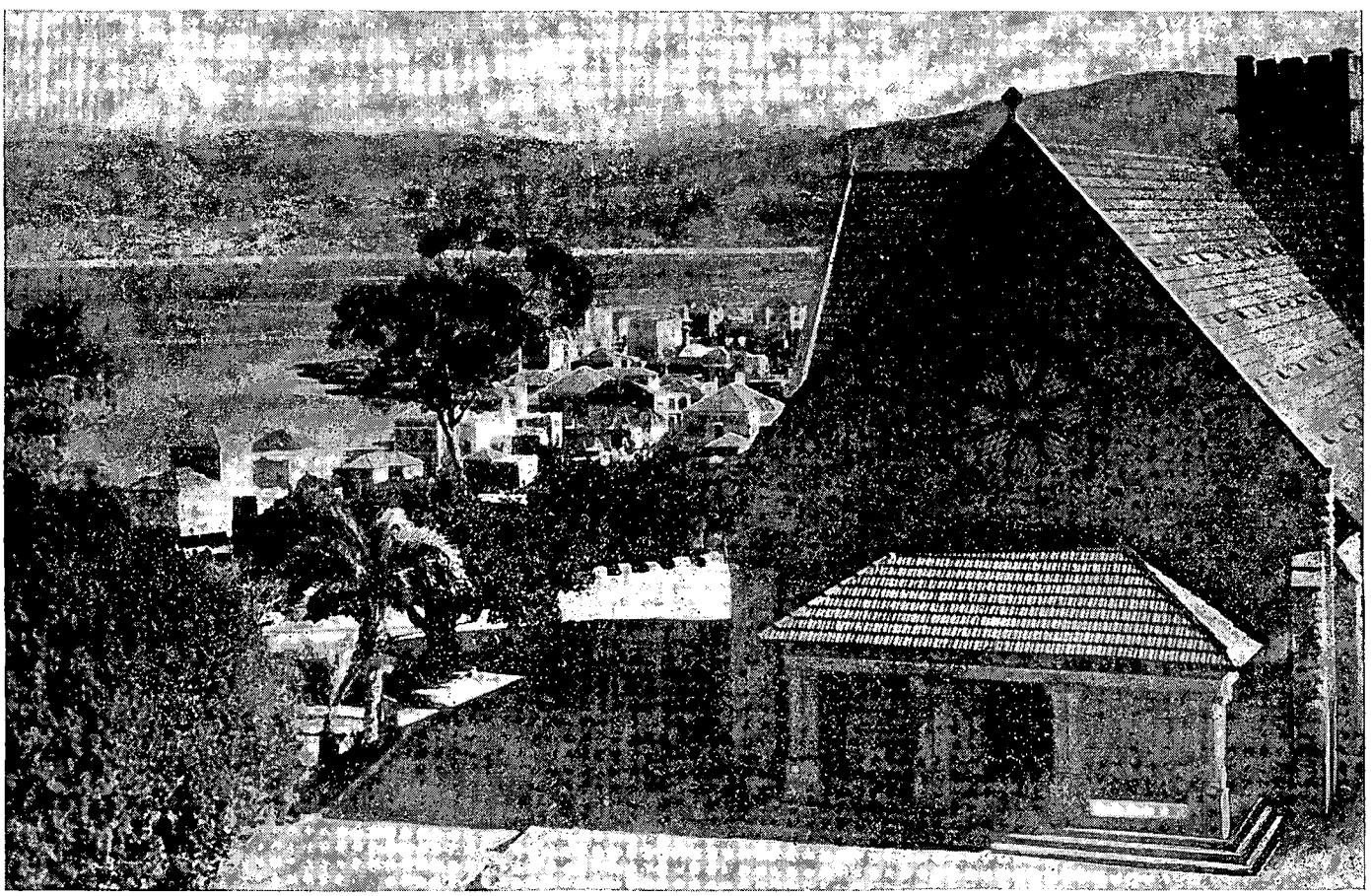
with the United States, and it was clear that no other comparison counted.

In the days immediately following the War, when the Y.W.C.A. had money enough to maintain rather wide work in the new part of Europe, it seemed to me that next to the Quakers it was the finest representative of America. It was less institutionalized than the Y.M.C.A. The Y.M.C.A., however, in Europe has successfully overcome the limitations which are sometimes attributed to it at home, and plays a most useful part under most diverse conditions. I saw something of its work in Esthonia, Latvia, Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Greece, Palestine, and Egypt. In some cases its advisors are Protestants, in others Roman Catholics, in others Greek Orthodox, and in Cairo they are Moslems. In a number of cases the natives feel that the American Y.M.C.A. secretary is far more successfully the diplomatic representative of America than the appointee of the State Department. Since the Y.M.C.A. is not trying to put over a theological doctrine, it seems to represent what the people can only interpret as American idealism, which appears as elastic, efficient, tolerant, sympathetic and cooperative.

Gratitude for charity seems to be short-lived, so that it is impossible to estimate the effect of our relief work on the attitude towards America. A group of teachers whom I met in Leningrad wanted me to express their thanks for the food which had been provided for Russian intellectuals during the famine, but I doubt if the attitude of Russia as a whole was much affected by the famine relief. The sincerity of the Quakers undoubtedly carried over beyond the material relief which they gave.

The American missionaries preceded the War and the revolutions and are now found only in what was once Turkey, but now Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. While some of the old school are left, most of them represent a type which easily has adapted itself to the new conditions which are generally both radical and intolerant. In Turkey, where they may not teach Christianity, they are enthusiastic about trying to make better Moslems. Their greatest achievements were the establishment of educational institutions, of which Robert College, the Constantinople Woman's College, and the American University at Beirut have been the most influential. One is now established in Cairo, and others under way both in Sophia and Athens.

The dominant form of higher education has been German, except for occasional French influence. These American institutions suggest a new note which seems to be pleasing to the leaders in the countries where they are located. In fact many of the leaders have been students in these colleges. The general cultural superiority of Bulgaria over the other Balkan states is, to a considerable degree, due to the fact that many of her statesmen have been graduates of Robert College. The Metropolitan of Sophia, who is the highest prelate of Bulgaria, a man of unusual breadth and influence, told me that he had learned much from his association with the members of the faculty of Robert College when he was located in Constantinople. The Rector of the University of Athens, an institution of about twenty thousand students, said that he felt that one of the most useful things that could come to Athens would be the establishment of a small American college, so that it might stand as an example in education of the American



Courtesy Near East College Association

The American University on the harbor at Beirut "not only satisfied Moslems and Christians, but had a kosher kitchen for the Jewish students."

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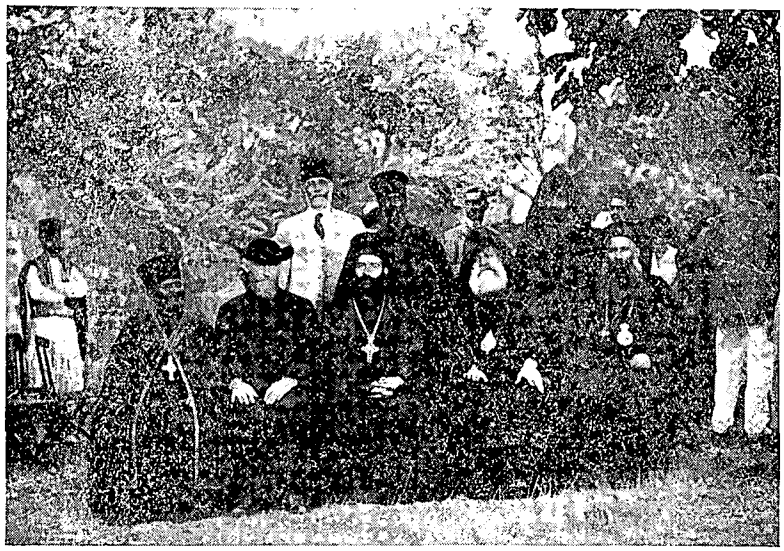

Courtesy Near East Relief, New York.

The Golden Rule Teas bring together many religions

ideal. Such a college as he had in mind has been founded.

There is no movement in the whole extent of that part of the world I am discussing more striking than the educational enthusiasm. No one has explained just why the aftermath of the War should have made so many people seek a university course, but while it does not seem incongruous in the United States, it would not have been expected in the new states which began their existence in the greatest poverty and had all the problems of political organization to absorb them. But all the old universities have doubled their numbers, and many new ones have been established. There is no doubt that the known interest of America in popular education has played an important part as a stimulus. Lithuania, which before the war had no schools in its own language, had a first-class university with more than two thousand students six years after the war. Latvia, at Riga, had a new university with five thousand students.

Czechoslovakia not only had the famous old university at Prague but established two new ones, at Brno and Bratislava. President Masaryk, although a great statesman, has remained essentially a teacher. He looks upon crises of government as occasions for the education of the people and constantly emphasizes the fact that the organization of the habits of a society takes place only through a long process of time. A few days after the armistice he met with some prominent men in New York who asked him what they could best do to help Europe. To their surprise he said, "Establish international scholarships, for the future will be determined by the attitudes that the youth learn." He himself is the best follower of his advice. Not only does Czechoslovakia give scholarships for Americans to study in Prague, but it took responsibility for the university education of more than five thousand Russian emigré students by providing a full Russian faculty in the university, with tuition, board, clothes and a regular small amount of money, for each student. It also provided special elementary education for many thousands more. President Masaryk knew historic Russia better than most Russians, and understood the conditions which underlaid the Revolution, but he also saw the great task that lies in the future. He believed so thoroughly in the efficacy of education that in spite of the great expense to the new and poverty-stricken republic he persuaded the government to undertake this amazing program of education.

The Balkans have long been the synonym of unneighborliness, though in recent years the blame has largely belonged to the Great Powers which have played them one against the other. It will of course take a long time for them to live down their habit.

In spite of her spectacular queen, Roumania is the most discouraging of them all. Although Bulgaria got a raw and undeserved deal at the Peace Conference she is much the most advanced and encouraging. Modern influences are more effective in Bulgaria than in the other Balkan states. Greece has been saved by the refugees who, though, at one moment adding twenty-five per cent to the population, nevertheless brought with them from Turkey both energy and technic which were lacking in Greece proper. The Near East Relief and the loan of $60,000,000 through the League of Nations, as administered by Charles P. Howland of New York, created boom towns where there had been desolation. Serbia, for whose great suffering so much help and sympathy were given, was also used as a propaganda exhibit for developing hatred of the Germans. The result was a distortion of her importance in her own eyes so that now she has many of the characteristics of a spoiled child, being both backward and overbearing.

In Palestine the coming of the Jews has introduced a new element which is a great irritation to the Arabs, who outnumber them six or seven to one. The new Hebrew University on Mount Scopus is destined to be an institution of great importance. One day I was talking to the Mufti of Jerusalem, who is the head of the Supreme Moslem Council and holds his office because he is such a good fighter against the Jews. I finally said, "If you Arabs wish to compete with the Zionist Jews in Palestine the only way to do it is on the Jewish level, which is represented by the Hebrew University." He replied that they knew it, and had only last year started an institution in Jerusalem which would become a university, but in the meantime they were very well served by the American University in Beirut. When I got to the University in Beirut, I found that it not only satisfied Moslems and Christians but also had a kosher kitchen for the Jewish students. Judging from the extent of its potential influence, I think that at present this is one of the most important universities in existence.

MUCH more epochal than the War itself were the Russian and Turkish Revolutions. I think that the Turkish Revolution is easily comparable to the Russian in ultimate significance. In both of these countries, in spite of the diplomatic quarantine, the influence of America has been incalculable.

I went to visit the class in sociology in the state university in Constantinople. The professor did not appear and, since one of the students knew English, the students gathered around me for the hour. They were anxious to know about sociology in America. About half the class were girls, and although all were Moslems they seemed to be entirely without self-consciousness. Five years ago not a girl was in the university, now there were bobbed-haired girls who looked as though they might belong in Ohio When something was said about the woman's movement

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one of the girls spoke up and said, "Of course we do not believe there is any difference in the capacity of men and women."

Turkey has set out to be western and modern but to remain Mohammedan. The English, French, Germans and Italians are all disliked. While the extreme chauvinistic stage through which Turkey is at present going prevents open enthusiasm for anything that is not one hundred per cent Turkish, nevertheless American schools and American ideals are looked upon by intelligent leaders as of the utmost importance for their development. According to the scale of choices of "social distance" made by Professor Bogardus, the Turks were placed lowest of sixteen groups of races and nationalities by Americans, and yet when one meets them personally they would be put very near the top.

THE most significant thing about the Turkish Revolution is the fact that it has made a rift in the conservatism of the Moslem religion and for the first time will permit it to stand on its own feet as a religion, uninvolved with a medieval political system. The outlook seems to be that its competition with Christianity only on the basis of virtue will make Christianity hustle to hold its moral supremacy. On the race question, which is a portentous problem, the Mohammedan practice is much superior to the Christian, though the Christian preaching is sound. What worried me in my ignorance was whether it could stand the introduction of science and progress, and I asked about it of every intelligent Moslem with whom I talked. There was but one answer, "Perfectly." At dinner with some Moslem scholars in Cairo I asked this question in detail; then the conversation turned and they asked me in detail how modern sociology dealt with behaviorism and psychoanalysis, and we ended the evening talking about Russia in a sympathetic way. Two of my hosts had written important theological books, and while they were thoroughly modernist they have a large following and are very loyal to Islam. They said that it would not be ten years before Egypt would go as far as Turkey has gone in ecclesiastical matters.

The modernization of Islam will bring to Christendom a stimulus which will be most healthy. The location of the Mohammedan world at the point where all the races meet gives it a peculiar significance at this time in history when race-consciousness has become so potent.

There is one other force in Asia Minor which it is difficult to estimate, and that is Zionism in Palestine. In this ancient land the transformation which is taking place is perhaps best symbolized as the sudden passage from camels to automobiles. The Arab villages cannot differ much from those of Prophet Mohammed's time, but the Jewish villages might be real estate subdivisions in New Jersey. The relations between Jews and Arabs is another of the insoluble problems with which the world abounds, but something new and different has come to the Holy Land. Those anti-Semites who have favored Zionism with the hope that all the Jews would go there have no basis for their expectation. Even supposing there might eventually be room for two or three millions (there are now less than a hundred and fifty thousand), the natural increase by that time will more than equal that number. Palestine is a symbol to the Jew, but his presence is a stimulus to the Arabs, albeit mostly to hostility. Very few American Jews have gone there to settle, but American money and sympathy make many things possible.

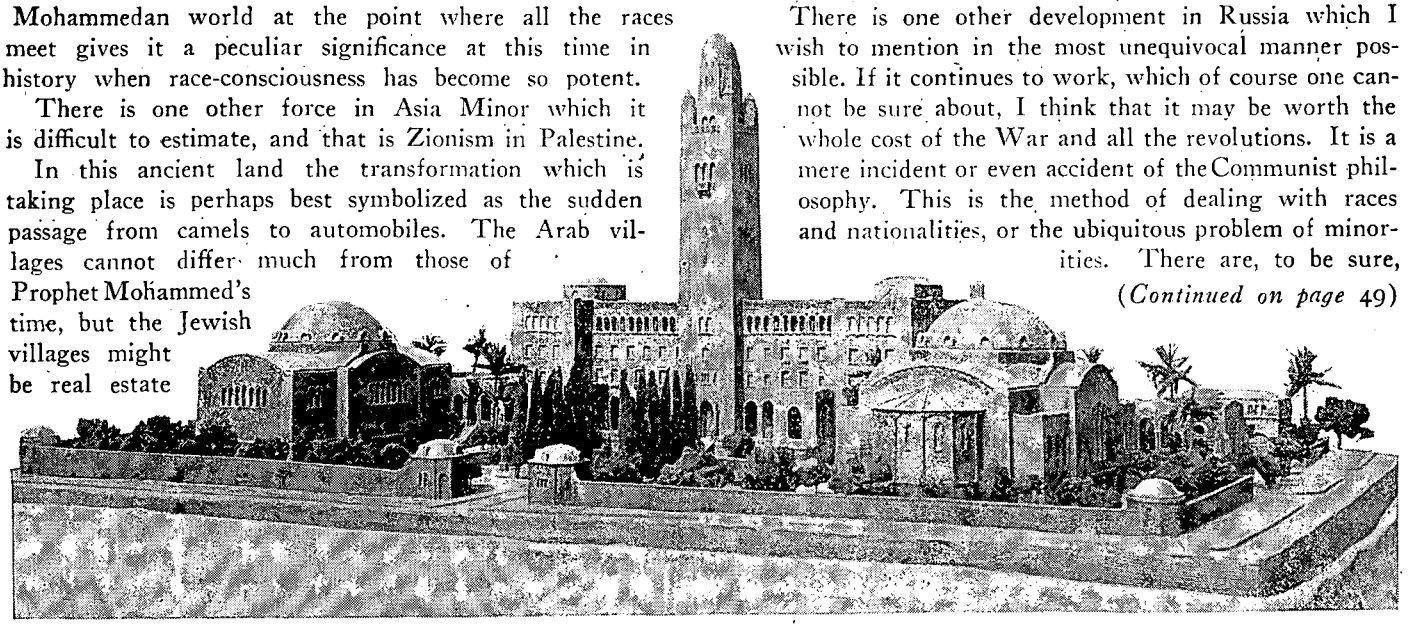
Russia is as important as the universal interest in her would signify, even though deprecations and political hostility accompany that interest. The uncensorable communications both into and out of Russia are of incalculable importance.

THE first Russian school I visited seemed to have a peculiar method of conducting its classes. I was told that they used the Dalton Plan. I looked dazed, but no one saw it because they could not have believed that I, who had been announced as a university professor, had not heard of this modern American invention. Whether or not the Dalton Plan is the best pedagogical system—and the Russians have already found many limitations in it—it is nevertheless true that when the Soviets undertook to reform their archaic educational system they looked to America for ideas. Besides the Dalton Plan, I think that Teachers' College at Columbia and the School of Education at the University of Chicago have nowhere more disciples than in the Soviet Republic. I met in Moscow the director of extension education who had just returned from a study of the American system, having been especially influenced by the University of Wisconsin.

The Bolsheviks have repudiated much in the old civilization but they have no objection to appropriating anything which they think of value, and they seem to think that America offers the greatest possibilities, not only in education but in business and technical organization.

There is one other development in Russia which I wish to mention in the most unequivocal manner possible. If it continues to work, which of course one cannot be sure about, I think that it may be worth the whole cost of the War and all the revolutions. It is a mere incident or even accident of the Communist philosophy. This is the method of dealing with races and nationalities, or the ubiquitous problem of minorities. There are, to be sure,

(*Continued on page* 49)



The new Jerusalem branch of the Y. M. C. A. on St. Julian's Way outside the Jaffa Gate. From model by the architect, Arthur Loomis Harmon of New York.

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Three Wars — *By Charles Nagel*

I AM old enough to have observed three wars in which my country took part. In the Civil War I was but a boy, just old enough to have impressions register as long as memory lasts. To be the son of a naturalized citizen of German stock—a pronounced Union man in a Southern state (in a colony that would not tolerate slavery in its midst) gave abundant opportunity to observe and to feel the sting of impatient public opinion. History says that we were right; but for the immediate purpose we were wrong enough to suffer the lash of contempt, and, finally, to have to flee our country for personal safety.

I did not favor the Spanish war, because I predicted that the firing of a single gun would mean the conquest of foreign territory, and would strain our Constitution to the breaking point. I can now, I think, without question accept the consequences, and may with entire consistency insist upon our self-imposed responsibility to the Philippines. History has spoken, and the question is not who may have been right in opinion then; but what is right in policy and conduct now.

In the World War the complications were many. The composition of our own people forced upon us problems, subordinate to the main issue, but of gravest importance to the peace and even to the effectiveness of our own country. As to them I counseled as best I could; but throughout I challenged the charge that any one people must bear the sole guilt for that war; and from first to last I maintained that the earliest self-respecting peace would be the best peace for all the world. Again, history has spoken. We now see the victor nations engaged in helping to heal the wounds of the vanquished—not for sentimental reasons, but moved by the eternal rules of international economy and self-preservation. We may well ask ourselves whether real statesmen might not have preserved peace, or at least have effected an earlier and a wiser peace, by steering their ships of state to a safe harbor, instead of leaving them to political time-servers and demagogic acrobats to be gathered as cracked hulls with tattered sails in a bay of doubt and deception.

Reflection upon the experiences of that period would have one say that it may be wise and must be patriotic to try to be right; but it can certainly not be prudent to be right at the wrong time. In time of war, he who would prove his patriotism in that way should reckon in advance with the penalties. Further reflection will show that no such risk is run in time of peace. We may without difficulty during a whole lifetime keep fairly in step with the trend of normal development, but find ourselves popularly wrong in every period of armed conflict. That very circumstance marks the dividing line between peace and war. One condition admits of and presupposes discussion, consideration and rational decision. The other is the very abnegation of a process of reasoning. That is what war means. If the rule were limited to the prosecution of war, it would be one thing. It is quite another thing when the methods of war are invoked to force the decision, as was done the last time. If the fair and open discussions which are now had could have been had in the beginning, even hysterical politicians here and abroad could not have kept the civilized peoples of the world from coming to an understanding. But the ability to so discuss and determine war issues is the very condition and test of self-governing democracy. Without that capacity democracy is unthinkable. To consider now with awe what we did then in heat, furnishes no guaranty against a repetition of the horror. To proclaim abject pacifism now in atonement for ruthless denunciation then, provides neither protection for the sufferer nor forgiveness for the offender. One is as wrong as the other; and this may be said with full appreciation of the danger of being right at the wrong time.

No, ours is not a case for either apology or resentment. This is the time for stout hearts and straight thinking. It is well enough to worship ideals. But it must be remembered that this is far from being an ideal world. To save it, our measures will for many a day have to take on practical form. Neither the spiritual idealist nor the intolerant persecutor of unwelcome opinion can suffice. The best we can hope for is to have the accepted methods of reaching rational conclusions employed in time of war as well as in peace. That much can and should be asked, if for no better reason than that the impetuous and ill advised war fomentors should be saved from the awful responsibility of drafting our innocent and misguided youth for an early grave. When we now consider the causes, the methods and the outcome of the war, the wonder is that some of our blatant war patriots can rest their heads in peace.

Happily theirs is not the prevailing note in normal times. It is of them Montague so aptly said, "War hath no fury like the non-combatant." After a war they are the true apologists even though they do not know it, or at least would not own it. Subject as we are to unholy agitation and disturbance for a war, no people can be more tolerant and fair even to weakness after the strife is over. And nowhere could it be more unwise or ungenerous to harbor resentment.

Again, I recall my three war experiences. Intense as the feeling was in the South during the Civil War, I can say with a sense of deepest appreciation, that we were never subjected to violence. No soldier in gray, officer or private, ever showed us aught but courtesy, kindness and even protection. That I am glad to put into the scale against the foolish and sometimes cruel demonstrations of misguided stay-at-home patriotism. At the close of the Civil War, with family disrupted and grief and care upon his head, my father admonished me never to entertain hate for a brave defeated people; there would be others to take care of that—and there were. That I put into the scale against the mad vaporings of men and women who were busy signing pledges never again to buy the products of a hated people. When after the War the unknown soldier was borne through our streets to find a resting place at last, I could bow with the multitude in grateful remembrance of the patriotic response of our youth to the country's call, "We can make but one war at a time." The die had been cast—there was no more time for dispute then—and now gratitude and glory to those who made the great sacrifice.

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My Novitiate

By FLORENCE KELLEY

MY father's daughter could never from early childhood be long unaware of the developing struggle for women's political rights. A welcome incident in our London sojourn in the summer of 1883, when the family were in England with Father convalescent, was a call from Susan B. Anthony. From the beginning, at Seneca Falls in 1848, of the movement for women's suffrage, Father and Grandaunt Sarah were permanently interested. He was an early and frequent speaker for both abolition and suffrage, and after Representative Sargent of California went to the Senate, Father became sponsor for the Suffrage Amendment in the House. He deplored every break, by reason of difference of opinion among suffragists as to state or federal procedure, in the long struggle which he would gladly have seen a continuous campaign for immediate submission by Congress.

When Miss Anthony succeeded in having a suffrage convention held in Washington during every Congress, she relied upon Father as a regular speaker. Out of this usage grew a friendship which lasted throughout his life. Showing the sincerity of both, I remember one characteristic incident. When Father became chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, he pledged himself to meet with the sub-committees, not merely to preside at formal meetings of the whole. Miss Anthony had advertised him for a certain evening as a speaker at the Suffrage Convention. Unhappily there was also a sub-committee meeting that evening of the Committee on Ways and Means to consider the general subject of acids. I attended Miss Anthony's convention, and my anxiety was second only to her own as speaker after speaker was introduced and Father failed to appear. As the evening closed Miss Anthony said: "This is a new and painful illustration of the lack of respect for the vote even among men who are convinced advocates of suffrage. Even Judge Kelley considers the tariff on vinegar of greater importance than votes."

I went home with my heart in my shoes. I foresaw Father's indignation that, after a quarter century's active allegiance to a cause still sufficiently unpopular, he was ridiculed by the great leader whom he counted a friend. At breakfast next morning I watched anxiously as he opened the paper. I had not courage to open it myself. Great was my bewilderment and relief to hear him laugh and say: "The good old Major! I'm afraid I deserved that."

Learning of his very serious illness, Miss Anthony came to call in London. I see them now—he was lying on a couch, exhausted and wan, and Miss Anthony, wearing her famous Paisley shawl, sitting straight as a young birch tree, suggesting by her posture his affectionate nickname of the Major. In the presence of what was to prove, seven years later, after a gallant struggle, his fatal illness, there was that day no merriment in either face. And how far they were from believing that the coming of suffrage in the United States was still thirty-seven years in the future!

In the decade 1876 to 1886, I shared in the new university life open to women here and in Switzerland. As frequent companion of my father, a Republican member of Congress from Pennsylvania, I was already conscious of tremendous initiatives in the swift development of American industry. Amid endless talk of iron and steel and tariffs, I cherished his charge that it was for his generation to create the great industry and for ours to devise methods of just distribution of its products. I was to offer a slender study of The Law and the Child for my Cornell bachelor's degree, one among the first theses on such an economic subject offered in those days by an American senior; to start three months after graduating, an evening school for working girls in Philadelphia which still survives under the name the New Century Guild; and to have my childhood impressions of American glass-house boys and textile mill girls deepened by a visit to the English Black Country. And following my reverent listening to the debates of my elders, American protectionists and English free traders, I was to come in contact in the halls of a Swiss university with ardent students from a dozen countries who had been caught by the new wildfire of Socialism, then spreading over the whole Continent.

Even in the United States (despite the classical preoccupation of the colleges) the period was not without its ferment of ideals and compunctions destined later to issue in various creative movements. Julia Lathrop was at Vassar, Jane Addams was reading the Greek Testament with a beloved teacher on Sundays beside her daily work at Rockford Seminary, which did not become a college until she was a member of the Board of Trustees. Carrie

Women's Part

Increasingly through the years of Mrs. Kelley's novitiate came awareness of women's part in the intellectual and political life of a new generation. But not there alone. Insistently, invading even the universities, came the consciousness of women's new share in the industrial life which was sweeping people into cities and women into factories, and with them their children, in our own and every other industrial nation. It is of these stirrings that Mrs. Kelley writes in this instalment of her Notes of Sixty Years. Earlier chapters were published in Survey Graphic for October, 1926, and February, 1927. Others will follow during the Spring.

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Chapman Catt was a student at Iowa State College, and Anna Howard Shaw, having studied at Albion, Michigan, was taking graduate courses in medicine and theology at Boston University.

MY Cornell thesis on The Law and the Child* compared with the scholarly documents so common today, had been slight enough. For me it was of incalculable importance. The choice of the subject followed naturally upon Father's years of effort to enlist me permanently in behalf of less fortunate children. The thesis itself completely accomplished that purpose. The winter of 1881-82, when I was still, as a convalescent, absent from Cornell, I spent with Father in the mild climate of Washington, working upon it. There I found in the Library of Congress all the authorities on the common and statutory law affecting children; and quite as much to my purpose, the official reports of the few state bureaus of labor statistics.

These revealed the pre-eminence, since sadly lost, of Massachusetts over other industrial states as to school laws, and labor legislation for women and children employed in factories. As early as 1876 Massachusetts had a ten-hours law for women, promptly upheld by her Supreme Court. The one permanently valuable state report was that of Carroll D. Wright, for many years chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics and later United States Commissioner of Labor. In it he showed incontrovertibly that in Massachusetts, after women and children were drawn into cotton textile manufacture in competition with men, the weekly earnings of father, mother and children were no more than fathers alone had previously received. Even in New York, then as now the leading industrial state, the first state factory inspector was not appointed until 1884.

The deplorable meagerness of American official information about women and children in industry led me to search the English records. The facts as they then presented themselves in the two countries afforded a firm basis for the conclusion that the future of American children depended upon the further development of steam-driven machinery and the slowly growing power of women as citizens.

This has proved true in an unforeseen and sinister sense. Little did we foresee that women in the United States would not everywhere have suffrage for nearly forty years. Still less could we anticipate that, meanwhile, the strides of industry would be so inconceivably vast that in 1920, the year of the census and of ratification of the federal suffrage amendment, more than a million children between ten and sixteen years of age would be employed. Nor could America's bitterest critic have foretold the cynical opposition which, to this day, frustrates every effort to establish for wage-earning children the equal protection of the law throughout the Republic.

In the autumn following my bachelor's degree at Cornell, I had my first experience in dealing with wage-earners. Deprived by the adverse decision of the University of Pennsylvania of the opportunity of going on with serious study while living at home, I set about starting an evening school for working girls in Philadelphia, and was given rooms for meetings by the New Century Club. This was in September, 1882. Instruction was free, chiefly bestowed by the younger members of the club. Two interesting aspects of the undertaking developed immediately. Candidates were so numerous that we overflowed before the end of the first month all available space, including stairways and halls. It soon appeared that the pupils, who were chiefly from fourteen to seventeen years old, all wished to study arithmetic and French. Most of them being department store employes, they hoped to improve their wages by learning more arithmetic, and the French language was desired as an accomplishment. Many ill-paid little growing girls went supperless twice a week, or ate two cold meals on the days when their classes met.

My share in this undertaking came to an abrupt end at Thanksgiving, when my older brother was ordered to the Riviera and I was the only available person to go with him on four days' notice. Fortunately, Mrs. Turner, a leading founder of the New Century Club, adopted the classes as her permanent activity, organizing them as the New Century Guild, and remained actively interested until her death, when she bequeathed it the sum of $20,000. For more than forty years it has been a useful center, combining self-government, education and recreation, having had 5,000 members since its modest beginning.

Later in the summer of Miss Anthony's London visit, Father and I journeyed by train, by carriage and on foot in the Midland counties, with a detour to Hereford. An enlightening and most agreeable episode of this journey was a visit to Albert D. Shaw,* consul at Manchester, in whose home we were entertained. From this visit I learned more than I could have gathered from dozens of volumes about protective laws then in force in England for wage-earning men, women and children. As chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, Father was more than ever interested in what he believed to be a scientific basis for a protective tariff for American industry. His formula was simplicity itself. It was the free admission of all goods that we were not prepared to produce for home consumption, and high tariff rates on all goods that we were; in order to prevent undercutting our prices through what he called "the pauper labor of Europe."

IT was, therefore, for Father a startling discovery when Mr. Shaw produced evidence that hours were materially shorter for employes in English cotton-textile mills (nine hours a day and fifty-four hours a week for adults) than they were in any American state; and that the equipment of the English mills was technically so superior to that of American textile mills, even in his own Congressional district, that English employes were not materially worse off as to real wages than Father's own neighbors.

This latter statement had to be interpreted. Mr. Shaw maintained that it followed obviously from the greater purchasing power of money in England under free trade, than in America under the tariff in force in 1883. The backward state of the American cotton textile industry Mr. Shaw, himself a Republican and a protectionist, attributed to the policy of excessively high rates in force in the United States.

While English textile manufacturers, subjected to the competition of France and Germany, were compelled to

* Published in 1882 under the title, On Some Changes in the Legal Status of the Child Since Blackstone, in the International Review, whose editor was Robert P. Porter, later in charge of the U. S. Census.

* Father of Dr. Henry L. K. Shaw, of Albany, former head of the American Child Hygiene Association.

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keep their machinery up to date, ours behind their high tariff wall, could safely defer making heavy investments in improved machines. As to buildings, there was little to choose between the two countries. In both they were small and ill-lighted compared with those of today.

AS a part of this pilgrimage in the Black Country, we visited the nail and chain-makers. Their pitiful occupation was in 1910, twenty-seven years later, when minimum wage laws were first introduced in England, still one of the four most wretched employments, and was accordingly included in the new act, with box-making, the manufacture of Nottingham lace curtains, and of men's and women's ready-to-wear outer garments.

Never to be forgotten was the first of our visits in the Black Country. A poor woman working in a lean-to at the back of her two-room cottage, was hammering chains on an anvil. The raw material was brought to her by a man driving a wagon-load to be distributed throughout the neighborhood, and the chains were collected and paid for by him when finished for the owner. Her tears fell on her anvil as she told us, without pausing to look up, how she had been arrested and taken before the justice of the peace, who sent her to jail for her third failure to send her children to school under the compulsory education law which had then been in force thirteen years. Not until 1870 had England provided elementary education, and then not free.

Father asked why a justice sent a mother of three children to jail instead of the father. She replied: "But Sir, that was an act of mercy, because he earns more than I do, and the loss to the family was less when I was sent away."

Father asked why she did not send her children to school while they were too little to work and help her. She said: "I could not earn enough to pay the fees and give them porridge even without milk, and I dared not send them empty. I tried giving food and the fee to one and keeping two at home, but that broke the law too, and nothing was gained." This cruelty continued several years until the scandal became so great that fees were abolished, the justices having refused to enforce them.

There was no limit to the hours of work when the unhappy women had material and the order had to be rushed.

The owners kept wages at the lowest conceivable notch by lengthening the lists of workers and pitting them against each other. We were told by one woman after another that the uniform answer of the bringer of the raw material to complaints of the workers was, "If you don't want this work, there's plenty that does."

From 1883 until 1910 no effective step was taken in England to improve these industrial conditions, which furnished Father during the remnant of his life evidence of the evil working of free trade carried to its ultimate possible limit, with no restraint upon the "sweating" employers. He had, I learned, converted himself to protection many years before in a debate in which he had undertaken to defend free trade; and every social or industrial wrong in England directly or indirectly attributable to free trade had an abiding fascination for him.

During the campaign in England for control of sweating by a minimum-wage law, the cry of employers was that tens of thousands of working people would starve if it were passed because industry would be driven wholesale out of the country. What happened, however, was that the worst known quality of worthless hand-made chains, produced solely for export, gradually vanished from English trade; and the women who had made them worked thereafter upon the next better quality of chain, and earned a minimum livelihood in contrast with the unhappy mother—a type of thousands of home-workers—whom we had seen at work upon this trash.

Here in the Black Country I first saw life under the sweating system, under free trade, under capitalism. I was to come to close quarters with it later behind our American protective tariff, under equally unrestrained capitalism. Thirteen years after our pilgrimage Victoria, Australia, made in 1896 the first successful experiment in control of the sweating system by means of minimum-wage laws which restrain the capitalist employer from operating below levels which the community sanctions. This procedure has now spread in various forms throughout all industrially developed countries, free trade and protectionist alike, except our own where it has been temporarily checked since April, 1923, by the reactionary decision of the United States Supreme Court in the District of Columbia minimum-wage case.

The old debate between English free traders and American tariff devotees in so far as it hinged on overwork and underpay of workers at the bottom levels of industry, was shown to be unreal; neither had supplied a remedy. Instead, from the youngest and farthest flung of the Anglo-Saxon commonwealths came this constructive proposal of a new type of protective legislation within the sphere of internal government.

IN September, 1883, following our visit to the Midlands, Mother, my brother Albert, and I journeyed to Zurich, where he attended school and I entered the university.

We had visited Oxford, but found little offered to an American woman student. Incidentally I lost, at Rugby Junction, on the Oxford trip, my trunk containing my Cornell degree. I saw it put off the train and besought the guard to put it back; but it was left there, and I never recovered it. The loss of the degree caused anxiety because it might lead to refusal to admit me as a student at Zurich, or to delay of several months.

At the Polytechnicum, the Swiss equivalent for dean was Herr Pedell, and this functionary was as immobile as any English beadle celebrated by Dickens. Anxiously I laid before him my bereft state without my Cornell degree, and asked whether I might perhaps be present at lectures as a listener, while waiting the long time required before the issuance of a duplicate degree by Cornell. Slowly he replied:

"You may listen and you may study. When you are ready, you may present yourself for examination. An American degree has no value." I listened and studied, but never presented myself for a degree.

My absence from the United States lasted about four years. While a student I translated and, with the author's permission, later published in New York the first of that long series of studies of English industrial conditions covering more than three quarters of a century (beginning in 1844), of which the latest is a massive work entitled Wages and the State.* Incidentally our contemporary author points out that necessary legislation, providing facilities for minimum-wage rates, has nowhere encountered such difficul-

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ties as in the United States through judicial interference.

The slender volume that I translated in 1884 in Zurich was entitled The Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844, by Friedrich Engels, a German whose adult life was spent in England closely identified as an eminently successful manufacturer with the textile industry and, while both lived, with Karl Marx.

When the first book appeared in 1844, in Germany in the German language, Engels was not yet twenty-four years old. Published almost half a century before Charles Booth's monumental work on The Life and Labor of the People in London, it is an amazing achievement, a museum specimen of painstaking, laborious, precise observation set forth in language so vivid that a Frenchman of high literary standing could hardly have excelled its clarity. It takes nothing from the value of his portrayal of facts as they then were, that a youth picturing in his first book conditions which he saw, that were incident to the Industrial Revolution in England and are now universally recognized as having been unbearable, ventured upon prophecies which have not been fulfilled in England.

Great English philanthropists, Lord Shaftesbury first of all, have one after another confirmed Engels' statements of facts. Our conservative American university libraries have slowly added to their shelves this foundation work of descriptive social and industrial history. It has been reference reading in more than one institution of the higher learning. Issued in English, in London, by Swan, Sonnenschein in 1887, it has appeared in successive editions. The author I saw but once. That was in London on our way to America.

ZURICH in those days was a small and simple city, with many steep and narrow streets, some of them beautifully curved, and lined with impressive remnants of old walls. There was abundant music, and a little repertory theater subsidized by the city. The forest, owned by the canton and maintained according to the highest standards of forestry then known, extended down from the top of the Zurichberg almost to the Polytechnicum. It was an enchanting forest with broad allees cut as fire safeguards, and between the endless rows of pines, wild flowers such as I had never seen. Here we students walked by the hour arguing in English, French or German. For me, conversation in Russian was a dead loss because I have never succeeded in learning the language.

From the edge of the woods there was visible on every clear day a group of snowcaps, since, alas! concealed at that point by apartment houses, Zurich having become Switzerland's most important commercial center. Then, however, it was a joke among the polyglot students that the Russians were so busy with the future that they never knew whether the snowcaps were clear and lovely or shrouded in fog, any beauty that survived despite our modern capitalist civilization being unworthy their notice.

Like all Continental universities then and now, the Polytechnicum was without dormitories. It had no drinking and duelling clubs like the German Burschenschaften, nor fraternities or sororities. There were no boatraces or other athletics, though Lake Zurich was in sight from the windows. In the vacation, some Swiss students went off with packs on their backs, tramping among their mountains or down to Italy. Barring the absence of athletics, they more than any of the others were like American students. Having no political or social grievances, and the most nearly universal educational system the world had yet seen, they shared in no political interest. They were young men gravely preparing to earn a livelihood in the professions or as technicians in business, and frankly bored by the large number of foreigners. Swiss people were the freest in the whole range of civilization. It was their proud boast that they, like England and the United States, could admit the oppressed of all the earth. How long it seems since we withdrew from that noble companionship and made the name of Ellis Island a horror!

THE women students were almost all Russians, candidates for degrees in medicine and the sciences. There had been one American woman graduate in medicine, Dr. Culbertson from Boston. A Swiss, Dr. Marie Kempin, enjoyed an already growing practice in Zurich. Dr. Anita Augsburg, from Bavaria, was a candidate in the faculty of law; with a Zurich degree she became a lifelong, active suffragist in her own country. Two very beautiful and talented Russian sisters were studying, one medicine, the other chemistry, intending to come to America; a third sister was studying medicine in Berne. The only American woman student beside myself was Frances Mitchell, a Philadelphian, in the Faculty of Philosophy, who married Dr. Hans Froelicher, a fellow student, and like him was for many years on the faculty of Goucher College.

Among the Continental students I met occasionally a Viennese, a man of brilliant gifts, in the late thirties. His childhood had been one of bitter desolation. He had been boarded out by his guardian in the home of a poor shoemaker, and fed almost exclusively on potatoes and goat's milk, this meager diet registering in his slender physique and conspicuous predisposition to tuberculosis. He described plaintively his badgered existence between the Austrian police, through whom he received a pension as the illegitimate son of a noble at the Court of Franz Josef and, on the other hand, the Austrian Socialists, by writing pamphlets and editorials for whom he eked out the meager insufficiency of that loathed pension. The Socialists seemed to him so unreasonable that he withdrew more than once from their activities, only to be driven back by the chicanery of the Austrian police. Nowhere could he find rest for his soul.

There was also a Russian exile, a student of chemistry, who translated Marx, put his manuscript into a small trunk and traveled as far as Fribourg on his homeward way. While he was gone to the consul to get his passport viséed, the landlord pried open the trunk and turned over to the Russian consul the manuscript intended for the underground press. The student was forthwith arrested, delivered to the Russian police and thrown into the Peter Paul fortress, held there several years and sent to Siberia. Ultimately he escaped and crossed Behring Strait. Having acquired in prison an excellent command of English, he quickly found work as chemist in the Board of Health of a city in the Middle West where he remained for many years a much respected official. I was astonished to meet him in the course of my duties as chief state factory inspector, in Illinois in the "nineties."

Coming to Zurich, the content of my mind was tinder

* Published in 1926 by P. S. King and Son, for E. M. Burns, assistant in the Department of Economics of the London School of Economics.

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awaiting a match. Stowed in it were those earliest serene childhood experiences, and the tragic oppression of the recently emancipated Negroes, by disfranchisement and lynching. There were pictures of pastyfaced little working children in jail-like textile mills in Manayunk, whom I saw in the streets year after year as I drove in the phaeton between my homes in West Philadelphia and Germantown. In England, only a few weeks before, there had been the pitiable toiling mothers in the chain-makers' cottages, and the diminutive men and women in the streets of the textile manufacturing cities of the Black Country. All these were baffling, human problems; and now here in Zurich among students from many lands, was the philosophy of Socialism, its assurance flooding the minds of youth and the wage-earners with hope that, within the inevitable development of modern industry, was the coming solution.

Of this I had had two stimulating foretastes before leaving America. In my sophomore year I was at home several weeks because of illness. Beside our own invalid we had with us a friend from a western city, convalescent but compelled to remain in Philadelphia for rest and observation. My duties were chiefly to play third at dummy whist, and to keep our crippled guest from going home before his cure was complete. For me Mr. Livingston was a visitor from Mars. As an importer of fine laces he was in constant contact with several foreign countries, making business journeys thither at what were then short intervals. His father had been a friend of Karl Marx and when the First International, rent by inner dissension, had had its headquarters transferred to Hoboken to save it from suppression by European governments, Mr. Livingston had taken a languid interest in it. Just before his accident he had purchased, partly as curiosities, sample pamphlets printed in English on cheap paper in bad type, and bound in flaming paper covers.

By way of inciting a discussion he urged me to read these queer looking pamphlets. They were as startling to me, a sophomore, as my discovery had been years before of the reason Grandaunt Sarah ate no sugar and always wore linen. (Sugar and cotton were products of slave labor.) Here were ideas and ideals undreamed of, and the headquarters of this world movement was as near as Hoboken!

WHEN I went back to Cornell and the invalids resumed their normal lives, Mr. Livingston presented us gifts of lasting value in memory of that winter, mine being Vasari's Lives of the Painters. Keenly as I appreciated being expected to interest myself in the painters, his abiding influence on my mind was rooted in those fugitive leaflets. Intellectually that sojourn was a profitable exchange for a share, at least, of the lost Cornell work for which I was booked. This consisted of logic, economics, the history of philosophy, and the philosophy of history, the whole vast complex of learning set forth in four small square black books, especially prepared for our students by a superannuated minister who purported to elucidate all four subjects.

The other foretaste of Zurich was a lecture on Bismarck in my last term at Cornell. President White, recently returned from Berlin a devoted admirer of the creator of the German Empire, lectured to the seniors on current history in Europe. Incidentally he interpreted Socialism which the Iron Chancellor was striving to repress by methods that the German workers characterized as "sugar and the knout." The various forms of insurance against old age, sickness and industrial injuries they called "sugar" and the suppression of the Socialist press and political meetings they called the "knout." I do not know who would have been more astonished, Bismarck or Marx, at the picture of Socialism presented to our imagination! It was as follows:

"This class comes, I assume, from families whose heads are more or less responsible for carrying on the activities of the people of this state, the professions, agriculture, the industries, education, the press, transportation, and manufacture. Now if Socialism were introduced here, your fathers would be deprived of all that. It would all be handed over to the legislature at Albany." So unsophisticated were we that not one question was asked!

President White's interpretation and Mr. Livingston's pamphlets were tangents in my intellectual background on entering the Polytechnicum at Zurich to study law. The Socialist press, driven out of Germany, had headquarters in Zurich, and thither came frequently leaders of the movement who were members of the Reichstag.

AN early experience was my first attendance at a Socialist meeting. It was in the old part of the city, on the second floor of a modest little eating-place, permanently so clean that one could literally have eaten off the floor. As I took my seat I was so trembling with excitement that I grasped the sides of my chair and held them firmly, for the speaker was Eduard Bernstein, then exiled editor of the organ of the German Socialist Party, several leaders of which were also present; and here was I in the World of the Future!

The subject was Bismarck's proposed high tariff for Germany. The room was filled by about twenty students from a dozen countries, and rather more skilled wage-earners, men and women in the textile and railroad industries centered in Zurich.

Before midnight every aspect of the tariff that I had ever heard or read of was presented, plus one which was utterly new to me, as a serious middle-aged Swiss railroad man argued: "There is an objection that has not been mentioned. We are internationalists; we are intimately acquainted with the textile industries; we should not fail to consider the effect on the producers of raw silk in the Orient that the tariff will involve, if prices of silk products in Germany are to be raised. The livelihood of the producers of raw silk in China and Japan will obviously have to be crowded down at least enough to meet the tariff charges in German custom houses. As internationalists, should we give our assent to this lowering of the standard of living of fellow workers on the other side of the globe?"

This might well have been a Quaker meeting. Here was the Golden Rule! Here was Grandaunt Sarah!

My eager plunge into the enthusiasm of the new movement that was beginning to kindle throughout all Europe did not blind me to certain fundamental differences. Mine was after all an American background; those youthful years of talk with Father had whetted whatever discernment Nature had given me and those differences were to determine my later thinking.

I was, however, not to turn directly from my novitiate in American and European universities to a part in the intellectual life of my generation, nor the political, nor the economic life. Instead, having married a Russian physician, I returned to America in 1886 with him and my elder son, and the ensuing five years were devoted to domestic life.

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SCISSORS PICTURE BY MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE

VII. THE SEVENTH INNING

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Can Mother Come Back?

By MARY ROSS

A SCARED voice over The Survey telephone started the discussion. "No, you don't know me, so it's no use telling my name. But I've been reading what The Survey says about married women working and I thought I'd call you up. You see, Grace is sixteen now and neither she nor the doctor need me at home like they used to, so I thought I might get a job. We could use the money and it would be something to do. But the trouble is, I never did have a job, and I don't know where to go. I once did a lot of studying though, by myself, about scientific housekeeping, and I thought I might brush that up and do something with it."

Then a letter from another reader put a slightly different angle on the question raised by the Woman's Place issue of Survey Graphic (December, 1926).

"Why don't you say something," she asked, "about the woman who wants to spend six or eight years at home while her children are little, but expects to go back to work when they get in school?"

And a mother who has left an enviable professional position put her belief in general terms in a magazine article. "The woman who has gone far enough in her field before she marries to be known, at least among her confrères, for the quality of her work, will have something marketable to offer in the work-a-day world at any time, provided she does not allow herself to 'grow stale' during the infancy of her children," wrote Eva vB. Hansl in the January Harpers. Mrs. Hansl suggests spending from six to ten years after college in establishing one's self in a profession; then a period of concentration on the home, with spare time and strength devoted to keeping up vocational interests as a recreation or hobby; and a return to outside professional work when the youngest children embark upon school. "I have known any number of women who have done it," she declares.

HOW to amalgamate the professional and domestic interests of college women or work out a stagger-tread system so that each may have the major emphasis in turn, is the aim of the Institute for the Coordination of Women's Interests at Smith College. Detailed studies are in progress of the kinds of jobs which college women are holding or might hold, especially on a part-time basis; and of devices such as nursery schools or cooperative kitchens, which can free the house-wife and young mother from some of her duties at home to carry outside interests as a side-line until again she can devote her major attention to them. The same points are being considered in another extensive study by the American Association of University Women. Both of these pieces of research, however, are properly aimed at a long-range study of the subject rather than the here and now with which many women are struggling, and they deal with a comparatively small and favored group. So I set out to try to get a glimpse of the situation as it is working out now in New York City.

I went to see the statistician of a downtown company, who has made elaborate studies of a personnel of 40,000; the heads of three non-commercial employment bureaus, the Part-Time Bureau, the Vocational Bureau of the New York Women's Exchange, and that of the Y.W.C.A., which consider the social aspects of placement; the "house mother" who knows the stories of many of the 9,000 employes in the home offices of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the statistician who studies them in the aggregate; two women who are responsible for the training and placement of workers in one of the large and enlightened department stores, and the former director of the Bureau of Vocational Research. In no case were married women considered routinely as a separate group for purposes of reporting or management; their employment is a comparatively new thing in business and few exact facts have been ascertained. Hence the replies to my questions must be regarded chiefly as the opinions of individuals whose experience qualifies them to speak.

ON two points there was general unanimity—that many married women want jobs as an outlet for energy or interest or as a source of income; and that in individual instances almost any handicap—lack of special training or its long disuse, for example—can be overcome.

"We can find a place for any woman who has something definite to sell which the labor market wants," said Mrs. Amy Hobart, secretary of the Part-Time Bureau, "if she has not been away from her work too long." Of the 2,400 registrants at this bureau last year, the largest group, 864, were married women who wanted part-time work to dovetail into duties at home. The part-time jobs in which nearly 1,900 placements were made in 1926 included a majority (1,200) in office work of all types, a small number each as teachers, tutors, clinic assistants, laboratory assistants, dieticians, librarians, shoppers, translators, proof-readers, social workers, cafeteria managers, housekeepers, personnel workers, interior decorators, and other specialized jobs totalling twenty-three varieties in all; and a long list headed "non-specialized work," with such categories as routine work in a cafeteria, hostesses, models, ushers, receptionists, sales positions, sewing, the care of children evenings or to relieve a nurse, companions, and so on. Nearly half the applicants were graduates of colleges or professional schools. Yet for a list of 361 women registered as "unclassified," the largest number of them college graduates, the placement column shows that only 11 temporary and 2 permanent positions were found. A general education and a general desire to work seemed insufficient.

It is the impression of Mrs. Hobart and of Mrs. Bennett Epstein, who has assisted Eleanor H. Adler in directing the work of the Bureau in New York, and its Philadelphia branch, from the beginning, that there are comparatively few mothers of very young children among the women whom they place in positions.

"Ordinarily a woman does not earn enough in a part-

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time job to pay for help at home if there are young children or old people who need continuous care," said Mrs. Hobart. "Of course some have relatives who can help them out. Most of our clients would like to work about a two-thirds day—say from 10 to 4, and earn two-thirds of a regular day's salary. But the office positions are chiefly for either morning or afternoon, the cafeteria positions from 11 to 3. At present most of our part-time jobs do not pay as well as a full-time job, hour for hour, because the part-time worker in an organization which works a regular day cannot take responsibility—she is not there to carry it continuously. The women who have been responsible secretaries in large offices, for example, usually cannot get back to a half-time job at half their former salary." Many of the part-time positions, however, are in organizations with limited schedules, like those of a clinic, a special school, or a cafeteria which serves luncheon only—and in these special skill more often is adequately paid.

MRS. HOBART and Mrs. Epstein felt that except in unusual cases, six years away from a job made readjustment very difficult, ten years made it all but impossible. Specialized skill, such as shorthand, is quickly lost without practice; perhaps even more formidable is the loss of a professional attitude during the years at home when attention is scattered over many and diverse duties. As it was put by Mrs. Marion T. Brockway, the only woman on the staff of the president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, "Middle-aged women are terribly hard to place because they are so set in their ways. They think they can do anything because they have been in the habit of doing almost everything." Even more drastic in her opinion of the speed at which personal marketability declines was Helen Winne of the Y.W.C.A., who felt that even six months away from a job was a decided handicap. Miss Winne believes, however, that many of the younger women who pass through her bureau are not planning to stop work when they marry.

In some firms the matter of age operates strongly against the employment of married women who have stayed at home with young children, since it affects group insurance and pension plans. One large business concern will not take on any new employe, man or woman, who is more than 29 years old, since their calculations are based on the younger ages.

THE Metropolitan Life Insurance Company takes on its new employes at the home office at about eighteen and trains them as they work. Each June about 200 girls drop out to be married; no one knows how many marry and stay. The married women who enter its employment are chiefly former workers who are taken back if they are physically fit, because of the death of their husbands or some other reversal of circumstances. In the middle-aged applicants who have no previous history in the company, whether married or unmarried, Mrs. Brockway found lack of a professional attitude. "Their friends tell them they have charm and personality and ought to get good jobs in business," she said, "but it is very rare to find one who will take the time to acquire definite training even though she may have the necessary means. And you would be discouraged to see the middle-aged nurses who come in here, tired of private duty, and think that industrial nursing is just sitting in a first-aid room, knitting between emergencies, and drawing a steady salary."

This matter of attitude was stressed also by Miss Winne, who told as an illustration the story of one inexperienced, but charming applicant whom she chanced to know personally. One of those rare unspecialized jobs came along in which personality counts—the chance to serve as a receptionist and hostess in an art center. She called up Mrs. Blank's home and found she was having tea with a friend, then called her at the friend's to urge her to apply at once. "But I can't go today," Mrs. Blank replied, "I've just got here and Elizabeth has tea all ready." Miss Winne urged her to excuse herself and go at once, and finally she did so reluctantly. She got the job and has developed it into a really responsible and pleasant position. But without the urging she would have chosen tea.

If specialized skill is what matters in getting a good position, are there not techniques in the home which can be put on the employment market? The directors at the Part-Time Bureau made a clear distinction between older women who were proud of their ability as housewives and eager to use it in tea-room or cafeteria, and younger women, many of whom had been employed before marriage, to whom the years at home had seemed to mean a disintegration of old interests without the addition of new skills. "They are so discouraged and so fearful when they come in. They doubt their ability to go back to any job. They have been lonely in their dark little flats, without enough interesting things to do, too far from their friends or too tied down with a baby to get what sociability they could afford." Very few mothers express a desire for work involving other people's children.

AT the Vocational Bureau of the New York Exchange for Women's Work, which was established almost fifty years ago to aid "distressed gentlewomen," a special effort is made by Marguerite Rowe, the director, to help the older women without specialized training as well as women with professional or semi-professional experience. For the 20 per cent of their active cases who are more than fifty years old and untrained, the outlook is dark, though occasionally someone does want a companion of sixty or so. For the middle-aged women there are jobs as visiting housekeepers, house-mothers in schools and institutions, social secretaries, selling positions in gift and antique shops, and the like, in which often their domestic and social experience is an asset. But when it comes to a really well-paid position, such as the managing housekeeper of a large establishment with eight or ten servants, or a cafeteria manager, of course a background of something more definite than one's own home is required.

The one place that I hit upon in this series of interviews in which the home background really did seem to count was in the department stores. The store which I visited, Lord and Taylor's, declared that there was no prejudice against employing married women on either executive or selling staff, or against the marriage of women while they are in the service of the store. Should a responsible woman executive marry, she is asked to train one of her assistants to take over her work if she wished a leave for a time to have a child or if her husband's business necessitated a temporary absence from the city. Probably the majority of the women employes of Lord and Taylor are or have

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been married; many of them have children, sometimes left with relatives, sometimes old enough to be in school.

"With us, personality counts at least 50 per cent," said Mrs. Isabella Brandow, the director of the Department of Training. "We need first and foremost the ability to meet people pleasantly, and often the social experience of the married woman has seemed to help her in this respect."

At this and other department stores in New York City there are two kinds of part-time work which fit in especially well with a domestic schedule—the corps of extra salespeople who come on daily from 11 to 4.30, and another group who are there three days in the week to relieve the peaks of trade. Hour for hour they earn as much as or a little more than full-time employes. Almost all are married. In the opinion of Elizabeth Johnston of the Employment Department, who supervises the initiation of the women over 18 years of age into non-executive jobs, most of the married women are working not as a matter of absolute necessity, but because they "could use the money" for the amenities of life, for new living-room curtains, or a summer vacation, or added education for the children.

Almost every woman knows something of the selling work of a department store since she has stood repeatedly on the customer's side of the counter. Perhaps tidiness in the home might be a useful background for keeping one's stock in order. At any rate, almost all types drift into these selling positions and make good, with training, if they have the personality and interest in the work. There are actresses who have tired of the uncertainties of their profession; teachers who are fed up with children; trained nurses who want something sure and regular; young and middle-aged women who never before have held a paid position.

The bitterest verdict against the returned married woman which I chanced to hit upon came from an administrator in one of the New York public schools, who was discussing the difficulties which arose from the limited outlook or inadequate training of some teachers. "You know,' the teaching profession is one place where the married woman always can come back," she said incidentally. "After she has had her children and got them all into school, the ex-teacher who has been at home for ten or twelve years often decides to supplement her husband's salary by going back to work. In some places the regulations are such that she can do this without further training, without even 'brushing up' by reading. Nothing in her domestic experience has served to keep alive her teacher training and at best it is sadly out of date. Yet back she comes, and we must re-train her as best we can."

The fundamental trouble on the employment side seems to be the readjusting of a worker who has been away from a specialized job, perhaps away from any definite work in a group of people, rather than a matter of marriage per se. The old prejudice against the married woman as an employe, and the old prejudice of the married woman against an outside job, are breaking down. But a mechanism for bringing together again the job and the woman has still to be worked out. It is a problem analogous to that which presented itself on a large scale when hundreds of thousands of men came back from the War after months or years without definite and specific habits of work; the problem which comes in a minor and transitory way every autumn when people come back from vacations and take time to "settle down."

On the married woman's side, the chief difficulty, aside from her own psychological readjustment, may be the question of money. Except in rare though real personal instances, it seems hard for her to go back to work which is sufficiently well paid to replace work at home, unless she can afford an interval of training or re-training. She can supplement her husband's income in her leisure time if she has relatives to help with the children and the housework without pay, or if the children are so far grown that they need little continuous supervision and kitchenette living has reduced the housework almost to zero. But it seems hard for women to earn a self-supporting wage in New York City outside of full-time continuous work.

The development of a professional attitude toward one's own housework and one's own children, such as Dr. Ethel P. Howes is creating through the Smith College Institute, would certainly help in making the readjustment of women who "come back" after time at home. So will research to discover and create part-time jobs which are economically justifiable, such as the present department-store and cafeteria positions. Now there simply are not enough part-time jobs to go around among the women who cannot afford to relinquish all their responsibilities at home and yet wish to, or must, eke out an income as well. The great procession of professional or semi-professional work is marching in a full-time rhythm, and most of the adjustments of people who fall out of step rest squarely upon themselves.

Courtesy Lord & Taylor

Many married women find work in department stores

Standard Flashlight Company, Inc.

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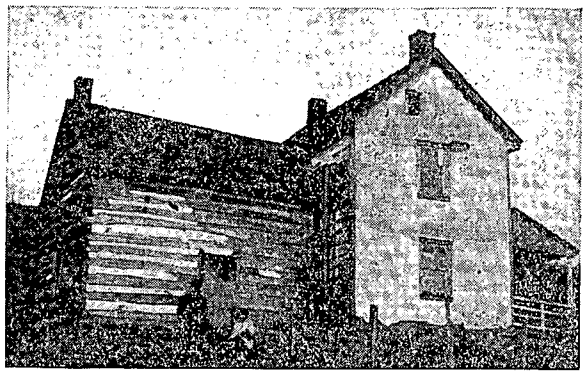

Our house—before

Foot Hills

By BEULAH WELDON

The first-prize story in the third quarterly Harmon-Survey Award in the field of public education

OUR furniture was half in the truck and half on the sidewalk. Mr. Sweeny, the reporter of the "Daily Herald," begged us for some details of our "flitting." We told him we were going "over the mountain." Why we were willing to leave a comfortable Pennsylvania Dutch brick house for the doubtful comfort of a mountain dwelling, he could not understand. We did tell him that we were going to open a little one-room school that had been closed for two years, but fearing that he would confuse us with missionaries, we said no more.

All the stories I had ever read of fairyland came back to me as our truck plowed through the winding mud road, forded creeks and finally stopped before a tiny whitewashed log cabin. The creek, spanned by a rough foot-log, flowed in front, a pine clad hill rose sharply opposite and a small peach orchard climbed abruptly from the back door. I am sure the driver of the truck was relieved to be there, but gladder than he were the two young "mammy cats" that had journeyed in hat boxes fastened over the mud guards.

The doors and window frames of the cabin were olive green and the floors were clean. The house smelled of pine wood. Food was to be kept in a cave on the hillside. The chicken house was spacious, with cement floor, but untenanted and uncleaned for two years. Going for water was like a trip to Titania's palace, a narrow grassy path between tall pines, the spring coming "out of the rock" and flowing through a bark trough. With night came the first flaw. The door had no lock. Our nearest neighbor lived a mile away. In our city ignorance we were worried but a large rat trap soon solved our problem. This set firmly in the door which would not completely close assured us of safety.

Our first breakfast was exciting. My partner, Emma Burgess, economically burned up the scraps of paper and trash found in the house. I was in the act of turning the eggs when a terrific report shook the house. The stove lids rattled and the front panels of the stove flew out. A harmless looking little pill box of salt must have been priming powder.

That night old Lizette arrived. She was twenty-eight, but the proud curve of her neck bespoke a spirit of lingering youth. For hours that day I had labored with the chicken house. Fifty large boxes full of fertilizer had been cleaned off that floor and piled in the garden. Lizette's new home had been scrubbed and whitewashed. My back was stiff, but I forgot it when I looked at that beautiful old mare. We three were to live through many experiences together, some tragic, some humorous, but that moonlight night when she came to us, she won her way to our hearts.

The first month in the new little home was spent in learning to know our neighbors. Mattie Thompson came daily to give me lessons in the care of Lizette. The Urners invited us to a peach paring and we stayed until the moon had set. Then we surrendered ourselves to Lizette, who brought us in inky darkness through seven fordings of the creek to our cabin. We went to the Sunday School picnic held on the school grounds, and my heart sank when I stepped inside that school house. For two years the doors had been opened twice, once in August of each year for the picnic. Apparently the windows had been opened more frequently, for there were evidences that it had been used as a lodging house by young men whose unsteady legs could not be trusted to carry them home. A platform stood at one end of the room and on it a desk with a slanting top. The dust-covered books were strewn in disorder on the floor. A picture of George Washington with the glass broken hung crookedly over the teacher's desk. The ancient seats were screwed tight to the floor which sagged alarmingly beneath the big rusty wood stove.

THE week before school was to open we had a meeting with the trustees, Columbus Urner and Van Buren Reisler, and the County Superintendent of Schools. The third trustee, Annanias Brown, had been offended several years before and refused to attend. There were no sanitary arrangements, the girls' privy lying in a ditch and the boys' standing uncertainly over a branch of the creek. During that conversation I sacrificed my reputation for modesty, but achieved two modern sanitary toilets, placed the required distance from the stream, and, therefore, conspicuously along the road. They had value as an example to the community: only forty per cent of our neighbors possessed one.

We finished our rounds of the neighborhood by the end of August. We visited every house, met the parents and enrolled the children for school. The grown-ups were courteous, but beneath their politeness we glimpsed their attitude toward "learnin'." Most of them were sincerely glad that the school was to be opened, but a few made it clear that should going to school affect the corn planting or the campaign "agin" potato bugs, the corn and bugs would come first.

We had been told that Aunt Liz had two children with her, little Maria, daughter of a niece dead at thirty with tuberculosis, and a boy "no kin, only the cow boy." Aunt

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Liz was glad to see us. Yes, her little Maria was a good child. She'd learn fast too. No, that was the only one. The boy couldn't learn. He was "dumb," they just kept him to watch the cows and he'd be no use if he went to school. To tell her that he must go, that the law required it, was useless. The men "gigged" and dynamited the creek and trapped out of season. What could the law do anyway?

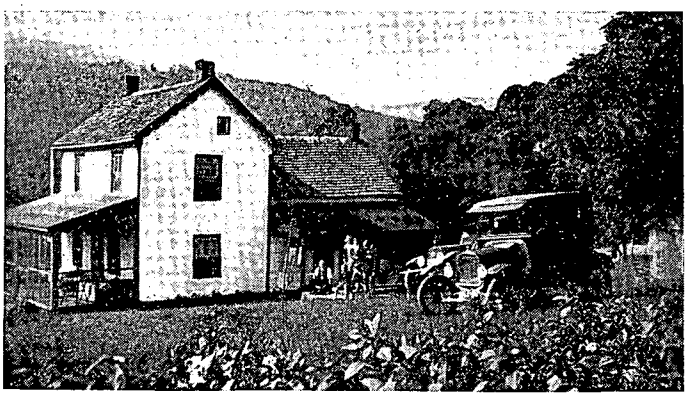
The great first day came at last with an enrollment of 24 boys and girls, from 6 to 17 years old, and theoretically from the first to the seventh grade. They came barefoot and curious. We spent the day getting acquainted and by afternoon I had decided there was only one way to grade my pupils; in two groups, those that had been in school and those that had not. If one child should perchance stray from one group to the other, it really wouldn't matter much.

Those shy boys and girls in their overalls and calicoes, many of whose grandfathers had fought in the Civil War, had never heard of America. They thought the country was ruled by a king and that the name of the king was Mr. Wilson. Some were without doubt eligible for membership in the Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution. I soon found that they were lineal descendants of the men who revolted against George the Third, not only in the fact of birth but essentially in spirit. If they had had a motto, it would have been, "We won't take nothin' off nobody."

THE school tradition was for discipline by beating. Mr. Muller had achieved fame as a pedagogue by making it necessary for the mothers to sew on each morning the buttons that had been spanked off the day before. I had been advised by a seasoned parent, the father of three "do less" boys and two prostitutes, to "treat 'em rough," and so we formed a student government, albeit with difficulty. They had never heard of voting. My oldest girl who was slow of speech and thought was unwilling to vote. I finally got her to say that she had been told never to "sign no paper." The two "bad boys" of the school were elected president and vice president. One of the rules decided upon by the officers was that there was to be no spitting on the floor. When this announcement was made, Carrie, the one who had been afraid to vote, said loudly and without preface, "If I want to spit, I'm going to spit." This was challenged by the new vice president who proceeded to prove forcibly that he was able to enforce rules by beating up Carrie's brother since he could not beat her.

A teacher of a formal school would have been horrified at many things. Much dog trading went on among the boys, one of whom owned fifteen. It was no uncommon occurrence to have a nice friendly dog, on his way from one home to another, spend the day tied to the leg of his owner's desk.

We found very early that we could simultaneously learn and play and be of some use to the community. The parents of the children had no recreation. We decided to furnish it. Every month we gave a play or a party of some sort to the grown ups. First there was an Armistice Day celebration. The owner of the newspaper in the nearest village gave us a flag. The trustees of the school cut and planted a pole in the front yard. Everyone was invited. More than half of the guests refused the printed programs with the words "can't read." The children sang



Our house—after

and recited. The minister in his opening prayer thanked God that the teacher and the nurse had come to them. The flag was raised with ceremony and a tow-headed boy in overalls read the Declaration of Independence. His sister came to me the next day. That night there had been a disagreement at home which I was to settle, please. "That there word, Pap he said it is 'declamation' and Maw she said it is 'decoration,' which is it?"

Every experience taught us more forcibly that interest is the mainspring of learning. Children who were bored to apathy by school room routine sweated in their efforts to learn to read their parts in entertainments or the words of the songs which they sang so happily.

During these months Emma Burgess was sowing the seeds that were to grow into a genuine interest in and respect for health. A tooth brush drill was introduced. The "chores" of the "Health Crusaders" were counted daily by striving "pages" and "squires," and the stumbling block for most of them was the weekly bath. The "chore" of washing hands before meals made it necessary for towels to be hemmed in sewing class and washed each day after the noonday meal. Hot soup or cocoa was cooked on the new wood stove, the sugar, cocoa and vegetables brought by the children in turn, the milk furnished by the "community cow," given to us by a kindly physician and the State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Christmas, Washington's Birthday, Easter and the coming of spring were celebrated by school and community together. Mothers came to school to make the boys' costumes for the health pageant in May, the girls making their own in sewing class. A sloping hillside above a grassy meadow was our theatre. A sapling poplar was the May pole and an oak stump the queen's throne.

Early in the afternoon of this festival day, streamers of bright crepe paper were fastened to the May pole and wrapped around it safe from the slight breeze. Consternation reigned when just before the performance it was discovered that a cow, in protest against this use of her pasture, had chewed the strings of the May pole. Safety pins soon repaired the damage and the little health fairies slew the dragon germs, and pie and fried foods and other enemies of healthy children.

During these months our household had rapidly grown. We had taken to live with us Aunt Liz's cow boy, Terence, little Maria and her two older sisters, who had been infected during their infancy by their tubercular mother. We took them first because they needed a home, but also because we found out, even in this short time, what happened to children left without proper guardianship. My

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partner made a six months' survey for the Department of Agriculture, which was an attempt to evaluate the "human output" of the community during the preceding hundred years. These findings were labelled "dynamite" and left unpublished, but they taught us the sordid future of children left without parents. Another reason for taking the children was the deep seated belief that God sent tuberculosis and that it was useless to expect to recover. The rapid cure of these two girls did much more than any amount of preaching, and besides our neighbors could no longer feel Old Aunt Carrie's contempt for "two old maids telling us how to bring up our children."

I should like to linger over those early months. The County Board of Education was generous. The platform was discarded and a new desk placed in the corner of the room. A new roof made the pails set about to catch the rain unnecessary. The children's desks were unscrewed from the floor so that the room could be used for community parties. When the new desks came the old ones were taken out and placed under the trees. There on warm days the children studied in groups in the open air. One day when a visitor arrived, there were only ten children in the room; the others were out under the trees. The student government put down deep roots. One morning our little Terence awoke with a cough and a temperature. I had to drive six miles for a doctor. My way led by the home of the vice president of the student government. I stopped and asked him to open school without me. Returning at ten-thirty, I found the flag up, opening exercises over and three arithmetic classes in peaceful progress.

During the second summer the physicians in a nearby sanitorium volunteered to make a physical examination of the school children. We had one hundred per cent attendance, although some of them had to be "fotched" by old Lizette. The defects disclosed were corrected. This meant many trips to the County Seat where Miss Burgess specialled four cases of tonsillectomy at one time. A generous dentist from "over the mountain" held a dental clinic in our house.

Gradually our work developed and extended. A reading club and a "singing society" for grown ups met once a week at the schoolhouse. Miss Burgess was authorized by the County Superintendents to extend her health activities to the three nearby schools. During the second year my "free" school was given a setback by the appearance on my wall of a daily schedule which divided my day in twenty-six periods. Its presence had a depressing psychological effect although I can truthfully say I never carried it out consistently one single day of my teaching.

Some of the pupils—after two years

For four years we lived and worked in our schoolhouse and on our little farm. "Manna" from interested friends helped to keep the family together. Now the "dumb" cow boy who had had to start in the first grade although ten years old was ready for high school after four years' study. One of the girls, too, was ready. We knew that just over the next foot-hill was another community exactly like ours, and another and another. We couldn't live in all of them and we couldn't induce others to leave the city for such a life as ours. (In my enthusiasm I had approached a number of colleges and talked to the seniors. This was during my second year of teaching. With more experience there came the conviction that much more than a college degree was necessary, that to place in an isolated rural school an inexperienced college girl—inexperienced in life, not in teaching methods—would often be fatal to her and probably only a degree less so to the school.)

The only solution seemed to lie in bringing these communities together. The village three miles away was the logical center and so in the beginning of our fifth year we tore up our roots, not painlessly, and moved our family to the village. For two years I worked in the two room school as assistant to the principal who had taught in the same room for forty years.

Miss Burgess was taken over by the health department first as public health nurse for the upper part of the county and then in charge of the county as a whole. After six years of class room work I began to feel that what I had learned might possibly be put to some wider use. I did not want to leave my chosen state so I sought the State Superintendent of Schools. He was cordial but evasive, friendly but with a reservation. "Frankly" said he, "I see no place for you in our system unless you wish to train for a year or so as a helping teacher. But even then I doubt if you would do. You are interested in the sociological conditions surrounding the schoolhouse. That's all right, of course, but we want teachers whose main interest is in classroom methods." The vision of my daily schedule rose before me and I departed sadly.

Almost two years have passed and I return for the Christmas holidays. I find a vigorous county nursing and health program.

In the village the community club is flourishing. It holds a weekly meeting and dance and owns its own piano. The consolidated school is a solid fact of red brick. Its doors will open next week for the children of our little mountain schoolhouse and those of the three adjacent communities.

I think this means more light in the foot hills.

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Letters & Life

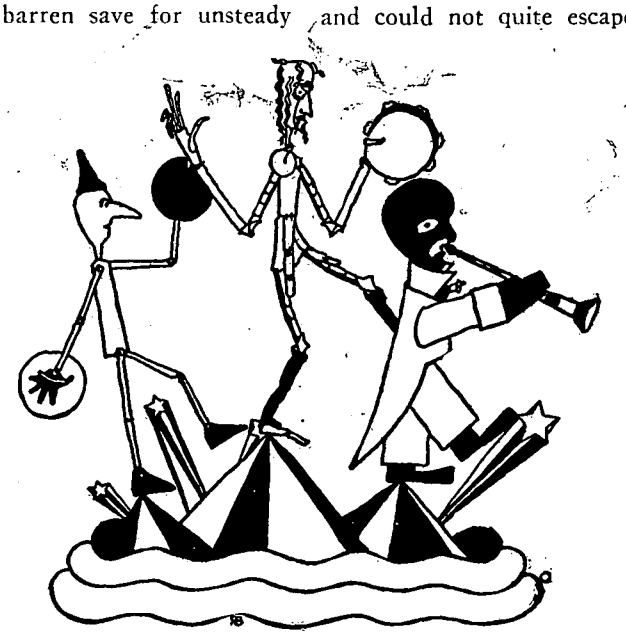
In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

Italy Sends Us Marionettes

PINOCCHIO is in town. That mischievous wood-and-boy puppet who clattered out of Italy to join Cinderella and Brer Rabbit and Alice of Wonderland has come to life in the tiny theater of Richmond Hill Settlement House at 28 Macdougall Street in the heart of Italy-in-New York. Remo Bufano, master of marionettes and himself a graduate of an earlier venture in drama at Richmond Hill House, has mingled puppets and real Italian children in this charming version of the gay tale by Carlo Collodi. He, and Greenwich House that is back of the experiment, have bigger dreams than just another little theater wherewith to amuse the boys and give them a play outlet. They hope to make this playhouse, grown out of the front and back parlors of an old red-brick dwelling, into a center of the Italian spirit in drama for the United States. That does not mean Italian drama, for they play in English. It does mean an endeavor to transplant and catch the spirit of the antique, folk-born *commedia dell' arte* for the service of art and the education of Americans. Richmond Hill sees no reason why the immigrant should check his culture at the door of Ellis Island. So the next bill will be three-fold: Molière's Médecin Malgré Lui, some very old folk songs from the hills of Italy, and the puppet-show. "We seek to translate the spirit of the Italian stage. It will do people good to see something less sophisticated than the movies," says Master Bufano.

Pinocchio is certainly not sophisticated as it unfolds its simple, unmoral tale on a stage barren save for unsteady walls, a door, a stool or a table. It is played in high spirits by the youthful cast, endowed at birth with such splendid names as Achilles Andriola and Anthony Oratino and Gino Innocenti—like a Pope. It is rural slapstick, with the color and audacity of the carnival and country revels, touched with the immemorial spirit of play through the untutored acting and joyful noisiness. Not even the children are deceived when the obviously wooden hatchet carves Pinocchio from an unmistakable *papier maché* log, but they giggle and get their thrills. For the audience is part of this noble pretence—and that is good for an audience too long regimented into silence by the mechanical wonders of the movies. *Commedia dell' arte* at root means play, play by the actors and antiphonal play by the audience, and if Richmond Hill makes people go to the "play-house" to see "plays" our drama would be less artificial and fuller of glamor and poetry.



Consider Signor Bufano's marionettes. The pragmatical Pinocchio sells his school-book for four-pence, and gets in the booth. He watches the wooden Arlechino, Columbina, and Pierrot dance through one of their tragi-comic interludes of love and fighting and dear foolishness. The wires and sticks, arms—even the faces of the marionette-movers are all plain to the audience. That's part of the show—no deception here, no dull Belascan realism. The ends are left raw so that the audience can use its imagination to weave a dream. It has all the elements, love, jealousy, battle, blasted hopes, and cherished illusions, stripped bare and symbolic. Even the problem of the cosmos resides in this flimsy box, for what is the platform above but heaven? And the marionette-movers, what are they—as every good poet knows—but the high gods with strings that jerk us puppets? Pinocchio jumps into the puppet dance, and we too.

This art is too simple not to be deep; and here is the true, the only school for dramatists. Else how explain the everlasting charm of the puppet-show? Here is evidence of its hold. The New York Tuberculosis Association had a health film for children, but it looked like propaganda and could not quite escape the goody-goody. So they got Remo Bufano to carve some new puppets and use the Dragon and other characters from the tale of Orlando Furioso (you see he had the elements of all good stories) and put on a marionette show called The Hungry Dragon with its moral of good health. Then they filmed the marionettes—and the children loved the picture. It cost too much to have the real marionettes visit all the schools, yet even the filmed puppets were better than the real actors in the movie. That is a profound lesson in dramaturgy.

Bufano himself is a lesson, and shows that Richmond Hill may succeed. Coming from Italy

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when three years old, he played Hamlet when he was thirteen in the first drama club at Richmond Hill where Edward Goodman and Phillip Moeller served apprenticeships before they started toward Broadway and the Guild via the old Washington Square Players. He got some education at the Ethical Culture School and the Sargent School of Acting. He has played professionally with Mrs. Fiske, at the Provincetown, and elsewhere. But in his blood were puppets. He hardly seems to know how he started as a puppeteer. "Oh, just picked it up. I used to go and watch the real Italian shows we had in Little Italy. Ten years ago or more, I began to give my own shows. I tried the small figures worked on the hand from beneath and I made the large wooden ones. But I did not make much money. I had no money to teach people to know and love marionette shows. I'd take a job for six months to get a little money for advertising and then go out on the road. It was hard work."

The pragmatical Pinocchio sells his school-book for fourpence to the Ragman.

Not that this slight, blue-eyed, clear-featured young artist pities himself. He has learned poise from his puppets and he is just stating the task of a pioneer, for that is what he is. And he is quite at home with Dragons. Yet it would be a happy thing if Richmond Hill could find an "angel." It costs money to transplant exotics. Few Italian-American children are tempted to the Playhouse and the Italian grown-ups still want melodrama in the native tongue, as is proven by the posters of the Teatro Italiano up and down Bleecker and Carmine Streets. So the audience is made up mostly of intellectuals and up-town children. It's a queer circle, with the little Italians rushing to see a "western" at the movies, and the little Americans, movie-wise and weary, brought down to get something new and charming from an older age. That's fair enough. The American needs this gentle *commedia dell' arte,* yet how can it live and be filled with the Italian spirit unless the Italians give their gifts? And the Italians are missing something of their heritage unless they can be sometimes tempted back from the movies. If this theater begins to cater to Americans only, it will learn American tricks. It will trim to our tastes, cock an eye toward the box-office, and grow arty and self-conscious. That would ruin this brave adventure of the spirit. May the Master of the Marionettes keep pure their wooden hearts!

Books Table d'Hôte

THE book business has growing pains. Some publishers and many book-sellers mistake these for *rigor mortis.* Naturally, for having had to work so hard for so long to sell books, they have contracted the idea that the American public is book saturated and that if any newcomer sells a book, he must steal the sale from some one else. The public really is only book-damp at the edges and for some time whatever increases the sale of books will prove good for everybody. The United States publishes some 8,000 new titles a year and sells about one hundred million books omitting text books. European nations of half our population produce over 10,000 titles and sell as high as two hundred million books. True, we read a prodigious tonnage of newspapers and magazines, but that is the more reason for trying to encourage solider reading. We are strong for anything to make more people read better books provided, of course, the new device does not sacrifice any real good in our present hard-won and useful system of publishing.

The nub of the new idea is to sell books by mail to a clientele gathered in advance by the guarantee that they will get the outstanding books promptly and conveniently, or the best books as selected by an editorial committee of reputation, or the significant books in certain fields. The revolution is in sales methods, not publishing, though some small publishing is done, and it is certain that we shall have the large mail-order publisher in the not distant future.

Book publishing now is too much a gamble. Based on editions of 2,000—one critic says 500—the publisher dare not figure on more, for he has no certain audience, he cannot count on the same audience twice, nor will his book-sellers undertake to market any fixed number. They are all dealing in intangibles. Therefore, his costs are high on small editions and his prices, of necessity, are fixed by the need of breaking even. True, he knows the lightning strikes certain books (though he cannot tell why), but he cannot pass on to the public his savings on mass production of the big sellers. His price is fixed by costs before he knows he has a best seller. He cannot stimulate sales by cut-rates. Finally, some of the best seller profits have to carry the non-selling list. For even with editions of 2,000 he may find himself left with half the copies to be disposed of as "remainders."

But instead of seeking out a guaranteed-in-advance audience large enough to justify big editions at low costs and prices, or to take all his small edition on a book of limited appeal, he has worked in reverse. He has had to refuse to print good books because he saw no way of breaking even; he has spent brains and money trying to spot best sellers; he has run up costs by advertising *after*

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publication to gather an audience; and he has condescended to publish books under a subsidy from the author or an institution willing to guarantee the dead weight costs.

The publisher has depended on the book-seller for marketing, except for some direct-mail business on subscription sets. It is the book stores now that are most angrily opposing any new sales methods. Yet the book store equipment of the nation is wofully inadequate to provide books everywhere. One of the invaders told me that though there were perhaps 2,500 book outlets in the nation, counting variety stores and drug-store chains, department stores, et al, there were only fifty first-class book stores. A publisher said there were only twenty-eight on his list that he would grade as A stores. Brentano's of New York is said to do five per cent of the retail selling in the United States: "Multiply our sales by twenty and you have the total sale of any book." Naturally Brentano's is not interested in mail sales by the publisher. Finally, vast areas of the South and West have no book stores at all. Yet these sections contain thousands of potential readers if you can get the books to them. They will even take your judgment on a book. We doubt if even the twenty-eight Grade A stores have staffs that are able to guide their patrons in the choice of good reading matter. The book store is not far-flung enough or good enough to be given a monopoly.

The invaders have simply pushed into the breach in the publishers' marketing system. They get readers first, then books. The old-line houses brought out books first, then sought readers. The crux of the matter for the well-wisher of reading is what books will the newcomers send the readers they have enrolled. How will they select? We must also ask how the new system may lower the prices for books and supplement the book-sellers. We must consider the rather remote danger of a new regimentation of the public mind by books *table d'hôte*. We must fight against any crippling of the publishers and the book-sellers. Let us look at the facts.

Haldeman-Julius fired the opening gun the day he took over the capacious presses of the old Appeal to Reason at Girard, Kansas. He began flooding the country with Little Blue Books at a nickel, twenty for a dollar, and his list has run to nearly a thousand titles. He reprinted tons of classics on which he spared himself any author's royalty. He had books written for him, supplementing his serious list with mystery and romance and things that appeal to the populace—dream-books, we may call them, sex books, and man-in-the-street science. He ran editions into scores of thousands and his total sale must be well up toward thirty million. He proved spectacularly the basic law of the printing press—its bane and boon—that the larger the edition the lower the per copy cost. Incidentally, he made a lot of money, and that has not passed unobserved.

Wright's Circulating Library, Exeter Court, Strand. From "English Women in Life & Letters," Oxford University Press.

Yet he seems to have helped, not hurt, the publishers. Many learn to read at five cents the lesson and keep it up on two-dollar books.

I think he had something to do with the present astounding sales of serious books. The more he sold, the more everybody sold. Certain sections of Will Durant's Story of Philosophy appeared as Little Blue Books, but this did not keep that miracle book from selling 127,000 copies at five dollars, with plans laid for 200,000 by Christmas. Books breed books and readers. The publisher has not grasped this yet; nor has he sensed the implications of our new wealth and leisure for book consumption. He's simply afraid in a new day as he was when he fought the seventy-five cent reprint (like Burt's or Grosset and Dunlap's) until Dodd-Mead took a chance and no cataclysm followed. He did not think much of the lending library such as Womrath's, yet Womrath's has ruined nobody, and is now ironically enough lined up itself against the new barbarians. Haldeman-Julius did not try the audience-in-advance plan, but he inherited a radical reading group from the Appeal. Moreover, his low price, his convenient pocket size, his list of titles, and his mail-order advertising gave him a kind of roughly stable nucleus of repeaters. He proved two things that will guide much publishing in the future: (1) the bed-rock costs of the huge edition; (2) people will buy books from a mail-order check-list. That list will in somebody's hands grow into a descriptive catalog, like in nature if not in monstrousness to that justly famous compendium of civilization edited by Messrs. Sears and Roebuck.

The Book of the Month Club took the next step. It signed up an annual audience of members on the simple promise to send each member monthly the "outstanding" book, postpaid to the front door, at the publisher's regular price. It publishes no books and cuts no prices. It is a service based on the idea of the editorial committee. How does the Club know the "outstanding" book? The publishers submit all their likely new books and these are sifted, not by the managers, but by Henry S. Canby, chairman. He passes on a final twenty or twenty-five to his colleagues, Dorothy Canfield, Heywood Broun, Christopher Morley, and William Allen White. The five, by independent votes, name "the book of the month." If the subscriber does not like it, he may exchange for one of a number of others simultaneously recommended by the Committee. The first book, Lolly Willowes, by Sylvia Warner, was mailed in April, 1926. One year later the Club has 40,000 members.

Where did *they* come from? From Main Street, Park Avenue, and Deadwood, South Dakota. The publishers did not have most of them, and so, at first luke-warm, they now sing benisons when the lightning strikes their books, for it means apparently about 40,000 additional sales, not (*Continued on page* 48)

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EDITORIALS

CAN we recapture the strain, the heart-searchings and challenge of ten years back? Can we unravel again the knotted cords of those days of decision—and of the months succeeding? Can we reconstruct how we felt? If we will pause long enough to try to bring our feelings then alongside some of the issues confronting us now, and get others to do so, we shall be making the most of this anniversary time.

This is the counsel of the man who has traversed wider ground than any of his contemporaries in his study of the war, and more than once has put what it has meant to him to work. That man is James T. Shotwell. As scholar, with collaborators in each of the warring countries, he is slowly chiseling the stones that are going into the monumental history of the conflict for the Carnegie Peace Foundation. As citizen, with General Tasker H. Bliss, Professor Chamberlain and others, he struck off in first draft the most imaginative and constructive piece of statesmanship of the post-war years—the ill-fated but prescient Geneva pact which for a few months held aloft the promise of a new order to take the place of the old war system.

When we discuss Allied debts, Professor Shotwell would have us recall our trepidations when we were so eagerly pouring money into empty war chests. We did not sign the treaty of Versailles but we were party to the terms of the Armistice on a day of leaping hearts. Have we hewn true to those terms with the New Germany? And last summer he vaulted from his historian's desk to the poet's corner to challenge our faith-keeping with our own men who had carried burning phrases to the trenches and were buried with them.

IN truth, the words of the old litany will serve us on this anniversary. We can take stock not only of the things we have left undone but of the things that we have done that we ought not to have done—for the sake of the things we might do in the ten years ahead.

To some, the war-time stands free as the stage of a supreme cause; to some it was a time of disillusionment and the shattered clay of idols. To some it was the great adventure—a rift in the drab of modern living; to some a wound to the human spirit, self-inflicted, unhealed. However this may have been with us, we can now re-evaluate our experiences in the light of subsequent developments and re-examine their settings.

In place of a blur of film, huge, swift, inchoate, we can piece together a panorama from the stills of many observers. This is not an easy task. What is the upshot of the military histories, diplomatic histories, autobiographies, intimate letters, un-gagged correspondents, secret archives ripped wide by revolution? Charles and Mary Beard have fitted these fragments into a whole. That they write in the past tense is in itself a jolt to the lethargies of our minds. Is this the way the detached historian of twenty-five years from now will distill the things we felt and said and did? Theirs is a picture with which readers and editors may or may not agree but it may help provoke each one of us to overhaul our own imagery and reconstruct on our own lines the fundamental testimony we bear as witnesses to our times.

Two outstanding witnesses are among us this spring. One is Alexander Kerensky, the Social Democrat who ten years ago headed the new provisional government of Russia. The overthrow of the Czar a few weeks before our entry into the war had fired the New World with the spread of republicanism in the old. We should like to have seen the Beards explore more fully the failure of the greatest republic to strike hands with the newest at that juncture in giving reality to the "war for democracy."

The other visitor is Ramsay MacDonald, post-war premier of England but in those days a labor leader who was damned as pro-German as was Vandervelde of Belgium and Longuet of France and the others who took up the call of the Russian revolutionists for a fresh statement of war aims which would scrap the secret treaties and strip the Allied cause of its counter-imperialism. Ten years ago this month several hundred of the social workers, in attendance at the National Conference at Pittsburgh, signed a petition to the President to answer the Russian call. We were denounced as meddlers, if not traitorous, by those whose sole thought was to get on with the war. Not for nine months was that call heeded and then with what reservations Versailles revealed.

The new provisional government of Russia was in a sense engaged on three fronts—with the German armies in the field, with Lenin undermining them with his watch-cry of peace and bread, and with the allied chancelleries which clung to their old bargaining as to the spoils of war. They failed to uphold Kerensky's hands at home by a joint statement consonant with the democratic spirit of the revolution and of a sort to convince the Russian people that they were no longer fighting the Czar's battles. Came the

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Bolshevik revolution, the overthrow of Kerensky, the cave-in of the western front, Brest Litovsk. What answering the call of the Russian republicans before it was too late would have meant in shortening the war; in preventing the mutilation of the peace, no man can tell; but there are witnesses to testify to what they believe might have been. Kerensky for one; MacDonald for another.

SUCH reconstructions have value in that they bring home not only General Traub's point that under modern conditions whole nations must wage if they war, but Mr. Gibbs' point that responsibility is individual; democracies must do their own thinking no less than their own fighting. They cannot afford to leave foreign policy to their governments in peace time; they won't have a chance at it once war breaks.

And however the seasoned American regular and the young British veteran diverge on their programs, they are at one in their opposition to drifting. Here it is that the voices of non-professional soldiers, of the Allied nations, men who knew the war in terms not of six months or a year but of three and of four years, cry out with deadly wrath at the thing that wrecked their generation. They are the hope of the world—if they can but count for peace as they counted in war, before they in turn drop out and a new generation learns it all over again. For however one may defend a structure of preparedness as a means of national defense in a world left at loose ends, the reliance of the great powers on that formula is but a reincarnation of the old tinder-box. And Europe, with all its ancient animosities, its fresh wounds, its close quarters and its competitions, knows this and has gone further in the direction of tying up those loose ends and giving substance to that hope than have we in our isolated strength.

MORE, we can no longer successfully reconstruct the picture of America we held to before the War, that of a young free people, guarding its liberties against the encroachments of huge and threatening empires. Not only, as Professor Chamberlain points out, have we let our old leadership for peace slip through our fingers, but as Professor Moon shows, with our tremendous resources and our economic expansion, the situation is reversed. Guard our love for liberty we must—but guard it increasingly against ourselves for the sake of all mankind. The grave charge upon American citizenship in the next decade is to so handle ourselves, so curb the selfish and undisciplined forces within us, that we prove to the world that a strong commonwealth need not be a threat to its neighbors.

The present winter has laid that charge heavily upon us. As this issue goes to press the members of Willard Straight Post of the American Legion are asking the President to take the public into his confidence as to the Latin-American policy of the administration; and such men as Senator Norris, Norman Hapgood and John F. Moors are organizing a national committee not only to stand against the further glacier-like drift of our imperialism to the South, but also against any such disruptive move as to lift the embargo on arms to Mexico and throw that country back into gruelling civil and religious war.

This last is our first close-up in terms of civil war of the issue in terms of international strife which Professor Chamberlain raises. Are we to be the arsenal, the treasure chest, the munition box of every nation that runs amuck and breaks such treaties as Locarno? Or are we to throw our weight for peace in the new "balance of justice?"

But, at the threshold of this new decade, why should we limit ourselves to policies of restraint? There is opportunity for positive action. There is opportunity for new initiative on our part in China, as the concession-laden powers hold back. Why wait until the Chinese teach themselves anew the lesson that only by force can a backward people secure justice? And there is opportunity for constructive friendship up and down the New Hemisphere. So far as our relations to Europe are concerned, we may have to wait for a new administration before the World Court is again considered on its merits; we may have to wait two administrations before we can consider the League of Nations free from partisan feeling. But Locarno set a standard of treaty-making which excels anything we are party to. Nation to nation, on the new level, shall we hold back, or shall we strike hands as opportunity offers? Shall we go out and seek the opportunity? That is the issue before us on this tenth anniversary of America's entry into the World War.

ON advice of the attorney-general that it was unconstitutional, President Coolidge vetoed the McNary-Haugen farm relief bill in the teeth of a gale of discussion in which the main currents were that now the Constitution has triumphed over class demands, now the President has lost the West, now the farmer is irretrievably ruined. Meantime the agricultural situation tends to improve slightly. If the upward trend continues, as seems likely, no serious political consequence will result from the veto and there will be no agrarian revolution. The farmers are angry, but only in spots. Eastern farmers, whose products do not for the most part flow into the world market, are not concerned over the plight of western and southern farmers. In short, there is no agricultural unity, and until some sort of occupational unity comes into existence there can be no powerful agrarian leadership. The fortunes of farmers will continue to rise and fall in response to industrial movements and not because of any intrinsic merits of agriculture itself as a productive enterprise. All of which means that we have become an urbanized and industrialized nation. Those who live on the land and produce essential goods have come to be the neglected sector of our population. Those who are most dependent upon the farmers' energies, city-dwellers, are most contemptuous of their welfare. If we do not learn how to apply an element of statesmanship to this economic conflict, the final development will be a top-heavy industrial and financial structure which in its appropriate time will come to grief.

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LIFE & LETTERS

(*Continued from page 45*)

to mention prestige and a publicity slogan. The book stores profit, too, as was proved by The Time of Man, certainly the best American novel of 1926. The publishers ordered the usual 2,000. The omen fell: the Club took about 36,000 in a lump. Then, lo and behold, the ordinary sales channels disposed of 18,000 more! The publisher sold 54,000 and the book stores 16,000 more than either had figured on. The author got her reward and about three-score thousand of the public were introduced to a noteworthy novel. To me, that seems all to the good.

The question will not down: What books do they pick, month by month? The list includes Teeftallow by Stribling, O Genteel Lady by Esther Forbes, The Saga of Billy the Kid by Walter Burns, The Silver Spoon by John Galsworthy, Show Boat by Edna Ferber, The Time of Man by Elisabeth Maddox Roberts, The Heart of Emerson's Journals. The book of the month has been mostly a novel, you see, and two of them, Galsworthy's and Edna Ferber's, were successes without the Club's help. The subscribers have read better novels than they might otherwise have done (and that helps some), but the Club has not encouraged much serious reading, even of serious novels. It explains its failure to offer much non-fiction by the guarantee made readers that no book will cost more than three dollars. Our Times, Story of Philosophy, Microbe Hunters cost five dollars and were barred. Yet I think that by long search the Committee ought to be able to find a couple of non-fiction books at less than three dollars to put iron in the soul of their charming list. The riddle is this: Can the Club retain anything like 40,000 members on any diet but a certain grade of entertaining book, usually a novel? It would be an experiment worth trying, for the encouragement of better reading is what we seek of these new sales devices. What does the Committee mean by an "outstanding" book and by what criteria does it discover one? The personnel (surely the touchstone of such a plan) is sincere and certainly bridle-wise in modern literature, but is it not a bit top-heavy in experts in the popular and entertaining?

The Club brings books to the front door, gives through its editors better book guidance than most of the 40,000 would get elsewhere, and teaches the reading habit. If it is not the perfect instrument for spreading sweetness and light, it has its own just uses. It will endure if it can keep up its membership. The Club presumably makes its profits from publishers' discounts. The book store gets from 20 to 40 per cent off the list price, and orders of 40,000 may mean a larger discount. On a two-dollar book 40 per cent means eighty cents, and allowing 30 cents for postage and handling, brings the Club revenue around $20,000 a month. That will surely pay the Committee and leave a nice bit for the proprietors. If the surplus gets too big, the Club can share its discounts with the reader, though the publishers would object because that would be price-cutting.

THAT in a sense is what the Club's rival, the just launched Literary Guild of America, is trying to do—give its readers the saving on large editions. You pay $18 a year in advance (or a dollar extra for deferred payments) and get a new book each month, published in the Guild edition. Carl Van Doren, editor-in-chief, and his associates, Zona Gale, Joseph Wood Krutch, Elinor Wylie, Glenn Frank, and Hendrik Willem Van Loon, select the book from manuscripts to be submitted by the publishers. It is sent to subscribers the very day the regular trade edition appears in the book stores. The Guild edition will be at least as excellent as the trade format. It will offer books for which you will have to pay from $2 to $10 in the stores, totalling in cost for twelve books an average of $36. In other words, it will cut the average $3 price to $1.50. The Guild aims to print about half fiction titles. The first offering on March 1 was a biography of Anthony Comstock, Roundsman of the Lord, by Heywood Broun and Margaret Leech. The Guild order was said to be for 5,000 copies.

But the publishers are not anxious to play the Guild's game for they do not know whether it will hurt or help their business. Some swear never to give them a book; others watchfully wait; still others are willing but have to pacify the book stores; some already accept the plan. Boni and Liveright had accepted Anthony Comstock, but refused to let the authors grant any rights to the Guild. It has now been published by A. and C. Boni, a distinct firm. The publishers declare the new plan is clearly price-cutting: people will be persuaded half-price is all they should pay for a book and ask the publishers awkward questions. The big book stores have already built a fire under them for they, as other retailers in the past, see their hard-won business ruined by mail-order competition.

Can the Guild get good manuscripts to publish? One answer is that it will—direct from authors and from abroad—and go straight into publishing. This is done by the cooperative publishing groups in Europe, where the idea is firmly established. The German guilds print from four to twelve books for annual subscribers, offer a regular list of thirty to fifty titles, and finally add reprints of classics. Samuel Craig, who established the American Guild after several years of effort, says he did not, however, get the idea from abroad, but from the New York Theater Guild which offers a season subscription in advance for six plays to be selected and produced by its managers. If the publishers of the United States refuse scripts to the Guild it will have a hard time.

ITS second grave problem is to get enough subscribers to pay $18 in advance to make the low-price plan work. The Guild needs 50,000 members for a working basis and 100,000 to show real profit. Its success will depend on assured large editions with all the attendant economies of large buying of paper and so forth, and upon reduced sales costs due to selling one subscription a year instead of twelve separate books. The Guild secured 2,500 members its first four weeks, but expects intensive promotion soon to bring in 300 a day. It must reach some minimum list or it cannot meet the price figure it has set. Indeed, its own advertisements intimate that the present rate will be raised, if found too low.

The Guild seems a good idea plus "if." If the editorial board is sound and takes seriously its task of selecting books for the democracy. If it offers good books by good authors. If it does not steal the cream of the publishers' lists without undertaking any of the expensive cultivation of authors, the reading of manuscripts, and the general overhead and risks publishers pay for. If it does not undermine our slowly rising system of book stores—needed and healthful centers of books and culture that cannot be replaced by the parcel post. If, finally, it does not degenerate into a mere commercial enterprise to provide ephemeral entertainment for the masses at cut-rates for quantity. One expert said: "If it is serious, it cannot get enough subscribers to live. If it isn't serious, what's the use?" The editors may be in for a severe test.

The idea of entertaining books by the year is surely in the air. Now comes the First Edition Society offering a preferred membership which entitles you to twelve *novels* apparently to be picked by a jury made up of Rex Beach, Professor Burton (which one remains vague), Irvin Cobb, "Bob" Davis, Sophie Kerr, and Burton Rascoe. Soon we can have an "all-American" team of book-tasters from these rival institutions. This Society works on the plan of the Book of the Month Club, but its slogan is, "Tell me a good novel to read." Why stop here? I think inevitably some corporation with enough money will come to provide a dozen "best sellers" a year to a million subscribers at conceivably $10 a head. It would need a different kind of editor to pick "best sellers"—one Pollyanna, one sex lure, one good "western," one detective tale, one historical romance, one exposé of high society, one dish of domestic apple sauce, et cetera. Authors could be got at flat rates or on royalty (10 per cent would be round $100,000 per book) for the best-seller man is already deeply disposed to take the cash and let the glory go. The commercial exploitation of print is already upon us—the printing press can make good things cheap, and cheap things even cheaper. If some way is found to stick 50 pages of ads. in a book, preferably facing reading-matter (and why not?) the thing is as good as done.

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We already have publishing ventures organized by young and go-getting chaps who bet they can pick best sellers or create them by advertising. The next step is to seduce popular authors away from their publishers by the offer of handsome advance royalties. This sniping by guerilla publishers among authors who have hit with a book has already put one careful and conscientious literary firm out of business. The list left them was entirely of good but not successful books which could not support the firm. If any of the present experiments promise to end in the ruin of good houses by these tactics it should be damned and fought right now.

The counter-blast to such dismal commercialism is in the idealism of ventures such as the New Republic books and the Vanguard Press. One grew out of the New Republic weekly which provided the ready-made audience that seems necessary for the successful publishing of non-popular books. It offered no annual subscriptions for books, but it did have an editorial staff that people trusted—the editors of the New Republic. It created a list of 10,000 people who like its kind of book. Sixteen volumes have been printed at one dollar each, bound in heavy paper and protected by glassine wrappers. Daniel Mebane, presiding genius here, says few people want better bindings, though one may be provided. He declares that lots of people buy books as gifts and not only do not object to a five-dollar price but actually want to pay that (and have it printed on the jacket) to make the book seem a real tribute, like flowers or candy. He divides books into gift books, text-books, shelf decorations, and books to be read. The New Republic press prints books to be read—books that might otherwise not get printed. It has sold 17,000 copies of Youth in Conflict by Miriam Van Waters with the prospect of a total sale of 25,000. E. C. Lindeman's Social Discovery has sold 4,000 copies. Only one or two of the series have not shown a profit. These books have not been subsidized save as certain salaries, rental, overhead and advertising in the New Republic have not been charged against the book-publishing business. The gross net profit totals $12,000, and this means that the venture would have proved a going concern even if charged with all its expenses.

THE serious and thoughtful book can apparently pay its way if you can discover and hold the right audience. The New Republic list is principally in the fields of labor, education, and industry with its best seller in child welfare by an author unknown to the general public before this book appeared. The book stores are quite ready to sell New Republic books, though about 60 per cent of the sales have been made by mail. This has led to the opening of a New Republic book store, the Penguin Shop, in New York, to meet the demand from readers for service in getting books by mail or in person. Something like the selected books service is found in a monthly club offer of three books at a reduced price. All in all, New Republic publishing has proved an extremely useful venture.

The Vanguard Press is in a sense a labor-liberal publishing concern. It received a share of the money of the Garland Fund for Public Service, and is operated on a non-profit basis. It sells cloth-bound books on good paper at fifty cents each—or five for $2 if you join the Society. Some of its books are subsidized and on others it pays no royalty since they are reprints of the classics in social science and radical politics. It also publishes radical fiction, and educational outlines. Its list of over 50 titles runs all the way from Lecky's European Morals to a symposium of new tactics in Social Conflict presented by the League for Industrial Democracy. It is frankly propagandist, but it shows that you can issue good books at low prices.

The Workers' Education Bureau has done valiant service in providing cheap books on many aspects of labor. Five years ago it began its Workers' Bookshelf in cooperation with the George H. Doran Company, and sold full-sized books in paper bindings at seventy-five cents. Now the Workers' Education Bureau Press, incorporated in 1926, is independent of any other publisher. Here again we find a publishing venture succeeding because it covers a specific field in expert fashion, and discovers among the workers an audience willing to buy its books, pamphlets and research publications. The first volume in its "research series," Electricity in the Home, is an example of cooperative research. This extensive bibliography was prepared by the Seminar of Social and Industrial Research at Bryn Mawr College under the direction of Susan M. Kingsbury. The point is, of course, that if institutions provide the texts, publishing houses are relieved of the costs of authorship, and both render real public service.

The final picture is one of experimenting. It is clear we may expect new ways of publishing both good and mediocre books. New audiences are going to be found or created. Mass production is going to have its day, here as everywhere. There are clear dangers to authors, to established publishers, and to good taste. But there is no reason to fear we are likely soon to have too many good books—or good readers.

THE NEW BALANCE OF JUSTICE

(*Continued from page* 18)

problem and one which would prevent any justified complaint on the part of the belligerent power, would be for the United States to enter into a convention with members of the League or states signatory to the Pact of Locarno, in which each would agree to allow the United States to apply this modified form of economic sanction in the event of its beginning war with another member or signatory state in breach of its undertaking to adopt peaceful means of settlement. The covenant could be phrased so that the United States would be under no duty to act, it could make up its mind when the breach occurred and war had been declared, but the state against which an embargo might be declared or other measures taken would have no ground for protest. The signature of the United States to such a covenant, limited as its scope might be, would at least align this country on the side of organized peace and prove that it was ready to act as well as to recommend.

Leadership in the long campaign for peace has passed from the United States. No instant need has urged us to lead in putting into practice the principles which have been advocated behind the security of the two oceans. It is because they feel an urgency which we do not that the ideas which American statesmen, publicists and lawyers have been elaborating for more than a century have been given form by others in the League of Nations and as signatories to the Pact of Locarno.

But it is not enough to have expressed fine enthusiasms and to have shown the way to others. The United States must go further if it is to carry out the work so well expressed recently by Elihu Root, "That our country should do its share for peace and happiness and noble life in all the world."

THE FUTURE IS MOVING EAST

(*Continued from page* 29)

certain conditions which make it easier in the Soviet Republic than where the nationalists are more crystalized.

Both educationally and politically the Soviet Republic not only permits but promotes the cultural freedom of the nearly forty groups that have linguistic variations and traditions. I attended a committee meeting in the Department of Education where text-books were prepared in many languages. I have even a primer in Korean. There is no jealousy for the Russian language. There are state universities in five different languages. In the Kremlin there is a council with representatives of twenty-two nationalities which deals with political questions. There is not the slightest fear on the part of the central government of cultural differences, which is one of the reasons that the republic h s so much harmony as it has. The policy which needs more elaboration than I can give here is, in my opinion, the wisest one any state has ever adopted, and whether this attempt succeeds or fails it is the only way human integration can ever be secured.

Ten years after the War the principals in it still think that they are the centers of civilization. I think that the Future is moving East.

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IF WAR CAME TOMORROW

(*Continued from page* 16)

none of whom is connected with the military establishment. These local draft boards secure the registration of and provide the men and decide all cases of exemption, subject to review by the District Boards established by the President in each Federal Judicial District. No bounty-jumpers—no substitutes—no slackers tolerated!

And now that these fine youngsters are coming to us we protect not only their health but look after their moral and spiritual welfare. The Red Cross, the Y, the Jewish Welfare, the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army—all our old friends are with us once again. Our women, even our children, are mobilizing to help win the Victory. The Nation is in Arms!

How smoothly the whole machinery runs from the President down! Brains, organization, will, training, experience,—remembering and profiting by the past, a clear conception of our needs, and a determined warning to meet the great emergency! That's all.

But is it not strange that to win the war we do not follow "the intelligently-voiced opinion" of experts the world over who have studied "the revolution in military science since 1918?" Gas, germs, air-planes dropping all kinds of death; technicians, chemists, engineers, laboratorians, writers, philosophers, biologists; radio, x-ray, death-ray, infra-red, supra-violet, cathode,—experts of all kinds, methods of all kinds—*except the well-trained soldier and sailor*—are scheduled to win this war!

Listen! In war every poison has its antidote—every thrust can be parried—*except one*: *The man behind the rifle and bayonet, with character, guts and the will to win! Everything else that we mobilize is to help that man go forward*: The farm and factory that supply him; the Navy that transports him safely to shore; the big guns that roar; the air plane that spots; the staffs that plan and guide and place. That's our *principle* and we are fighting it out on that line—until human nature changes.

Marstonia look out for *that man* when he is in full career! *Especially* if things have been going against him.

"The courage of our soldiers goes far beyond belief. Were it not so war would be unbearable. How strongly God keeps the balance even. In fullest splendor the soul shines out amidst the dark shadows of adversity; as a fire goes out when the sunlight strikes it, so the burning essential quality in men is stifled by prosperity and success."

Finally, at the head of our cots we frame the Ten Commandments *for a soldier, by a soldier, Ferdinand Foch*:

"1. Keep your eyes and ears ready and your mouth on the safety notch, for it is your soldierly duty to see and hear clearly, but as a rule you should be heard mainly in the sentry challenges or the charging cheer.

"2. Obey orders first, and if still alive, kick afterward if you have been wronged.

"3. Keep your arms and equipment clean and in good order; treat your animals fairly and kindly and your motor or other machine as though it belonged to you and was the only one in the world. Do not waste your ammunition, your gas, your food, your time, nor your opportunity.

"4. Never try to fire an empty gun, nor at an empty trench, but when you shoot, shoot to kill, and forget not that at close quarters a bayonet beats a bullet.

"5. Tell the truth squarely, face the music, and take your punishment like a man; for a good soldier won't lie, he doesn't sulk, and is no squealer.

"6. Be merciful to the women of your foe and shame them not, for you are a man; pity and shield the children in your captured territory, for you were once a helpless child.

"7. Bear in mind that the enemy is your enemy and the enemy of humanity until he is killed or captured; then he is your dear brother or fellow soldier beaten or shamed, whom you should no further humiliate.

"8. Do your best to keep your head clear and cool, your body clean and comfortable, and your feet in good condition; for you think with your head, fight with your body, march with your feet.

"9. Be of good cheer and high courage; shirk neither work nor danger; suffer in silence, and cheer the comrades at your side with a smile.

"10. Dread defeat, but not wounds; fear dishonor, but not death, and die game; whatever the task, remember the motto 'It Shall Be Done'."

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TEN YEARS BACK

(*Continued from page 7*)

Naturally the great burden of work under the Espionage and Sedition Acts fell upon the Department of Justice, a small bureau of investigation, erected in Roosevelt's administration, being transformed into a nation-wide spy system, with millions of money and thousands of employes at its service. According to authentic evidence, every practice dear to the Russian police of the old regime was employed by federal agents: provocative "tools" were "planted" among organizations of humble working people, supposed to have radical tendencies, and were instructed to incite them to unlawful acts; meeting places of such associations were raided without proper warrant, property was destroyed, papers seized, innocent bystanders beaten, and persons guilty of no offense at all rushed off to jail, subjected to police torture, held without bail, and released without recourse.

To the official army of the grand inquest was added a still greater force of more than two hundred thousand private citizens enrolled by the Department of Justice in the work of watching neighbors. Any person—man or woman—willing to play the rôle of informer was admitted to the fellowship. So in offices, factories, mines, mills, churches, homes, schools, restaurants, trains, ships, ferries, and stores, government watchers could be found listening to conversations, insinuating and suggesting, noting prattle and tattle, and reporting "findings" to Washington to be filed in huge dossiers of "information"—recalling the fateful days of 1692 in Salem.

Private associations and societies conformed to the prevailing mood of the bureaucracy. From institutions of higher learning, professors were expelled, frequently on evidence that would not convict a notorious cut-purse in normal times, Columbia University leading off in this kind of "purification." Clergymen were unfrocked and sent to prison for overemphasizing the Sermon on the Mount. Members of clubs were ostracized for failure to conform.

And yet when all these immense inquisitorial activities sifted down to the very bottom, only two conclusions of significance emerged. The first is that not a single first-class German spy or revolutionary workingman was caught and convicted of an overt act designed to give direct aid or comfort to the enemy. The second is that, as in England during the period of the French Revolution, the occasion of the war which called for patriotic duties was seized by emotional conservatives as an opportunity to blacken the character of persons whose opinions they feared and hated.

Undoubtedly the great body of citizens would have given the Wilson war administration unstinted support without the whip of coercion. It is true that the proletarian revolution in Russia in November, 1917, caused a flurry in radical circles and alarmed old ladies and gentlemen at their tea and cakes but it made no perceptible drag on the mobilization of national forces for the war. Hitherto pacifist in profession, the Socialists split asunder. Speaking in the name of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers declared that "this is labor's war," pleading the undivided support of all the bodies under his jurisdiction. While the Department of Labor, headed by a trade unionist, spared no efforts in stimulating the loyalty of workers in mills, mines and factories, their demands for higher wages to meet the mounting costs of living were granted with an alacrity that surprised the veterans of stubborn battles, who could recall the scenes at Homestead and Pullman. As labor became more revolutionary in Europe, during the course of the war, the importance of conciliating it temporarily in America loomed especially large in the minds of government officials and industrial captains.

In this war of arms, industry, and politics, the women of the nation, like the men, were completely absorbed. In Napoleon's time, the bayonet had been thrust into the hands of the common man together with the ballot, making war democratic and national. In the age of industry and woman suffrage, the age of belligerent economic titans, all services short of fighting in the trenches fell to the lot of women and were radiantly accepted by them. In the Civil War they had served as nurses,

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WHILE capital, materials, opinion, labor and women were mobilizing for the gigantic struggle, the army and navy were being organized to carry the weight of the United States to the battle lines of Europe. At the outbreak of the war, the general public was no doubt confused with respect to providing man power for the front. Although Old World experience pointed to universal service as the inexorable solution of the problem, American tradition ran against military compulsion as an aid to patriotism. President Wilson immediately crystallized vague and fluid ideas by declaring in favor of conscription. Under his direction Congress, by an act of May 18, 1917, provided that the military and naval forces for the war should be recruited by lot from among the adult males of the land, excluding alien enemies, between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one inclusive—limits which were extended the next year to eighteen and forty-five. This decree, calling the entire manhood of the country to the colors, was accepted by the people of every section and smoothly administered with a precision that surprised all prophets of adversity.

Effective coöperation with the Associated Powers—the great goal for which national energies were being mobilized—was facilitated by expert assistance. As soon as the proprieties admitted, Allied commissions appeared in Washington with the Honorable Arthur James Balfour and General Joffre as the most impressive leaders. The former with the quiet dignity of an English gentleman captivated those members of the public who had the privilege of meeting him personally; when he turned aside from diplomacy to confess his faith in a personal God, the efficacy of prayer, and the immortality of the soul, he linked himself with hooks of steel to the great heart of America. He was cheered to the echo when he declared at the Chamber of Commerce in New York City that "since August, 1914, the fight had been for the highest spiritual advantages of mankind and without a petty thought or ambition." His colleague, General Joffre, hero of the Marne, though reserved, paternal, circumspect, and given to silence on momentous matters, was also received with tumultuous acclaim by the masses for his martial glory.

In quiet conferences with President Wilson, these commissioners described the desperate plight of the Entente Allies and demonstrated the imperative need for immediate help with money, supplies, and men at the front. In response, loans running into the billions were granted with alacrity, and provisions made for united action in controlling world trade and pouring an unbroken stream of materials into the allied countries—in spite of the submarine menace, then growing deadlier every hour.

"Send us American soldiers!" was the universal cry from the Associates of the United States; "let the American flag be unfurled on the fields of France and let the tramp of American armies thrill anew the worn spirits of those who have borne the brunt of battle for three long years." In June, General Pershing went to France to prepare the way for the coming hosts, followed in a few days by the first units of the regular forces which marched through the streets of Paris as a pledge of America's high resolve. Until the draft army was ready, of course, the transport of forces was inevitably slow, but in the opening weeks of 1918 the tiny current became a torrent; by July a million American soldiers were on the scene of action. When at last in November the curtain was

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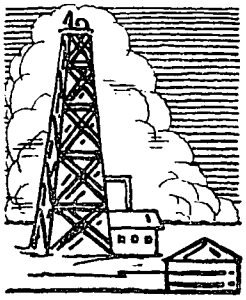

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rung down on the world tragedy, the number doubled, belieing the contemptuous prophecies of German critics and astounding the world by the miracle in the transformation of America into a fighting machine.

Naturally the posture of allied affairs determined the disposition of American forces along the front. The English held the western section near their base of supplies; the heart of France was concentrated on the defense of Paris; accordingly the most tranquil section toward the east was first assigned to the American associates. With incredible swiftness a huge American war mechanism was created on the basis of this arrangement, with its chief port of entry at Bordeaux and its headquarters at Chaumont, below Verdun.

After a winter of cautious preparations, General Pershing was ready to work effectively with General Foch in breaking the shock of the mighty German offensive launched in March. Again in the summer, when General Ludendorff's last desperate drive threw the French and Allied forces back upon the Marne, American soldiers at Belleau Wood, Château-Thierry, and other points along the flaming line played well their part in the awful fighting that turned the tide of battle. In September, with French assistance, they wiped out the German salient at Saint Mihiel and then joined in the fierce surge from the mountains to the Channel that burst wide the gates of victory.

On the ocean, American coöperation with the Allied powers, though less spectacular, proceeded with equal resolve. In protecting the American coast, in patrolling the war zones for submarines, in sowing mines through the North Sea, in bombing submarine bases, and in convoying troop ships, the American navy rose to the requirements of the conflict. When at length the long struggle was over and the armistice was proclaimed on November 11, 1918, more than three hundred American war vessels and seventy-five thousand sailors were operating in European waters.

BESIDES economic might and military power, new social and intellectual forces were thrown into the balance. In days of old when kings made war with mercenary armies, no grand proclamation of aims and purposes was required; the royal will was made known and good subjects obeyed. That was the state of affairs when the French Revolution altered the face of politics, thrusting the ballot and the bayonet into the hands of peasants, hairdressers, and carters, and making it expedient, on summoning them to arms, to accompany the call by a declaration of principles answering to their moral aspirations. In this service the resourcefulness of the human mind never failed. Napoleon was past-master of the publicity art and his successors imitated him at a distance. When the statesmen of Europe blindly blundered into war in the summer of 1914, as Lloyd George, one who sat at the council table of the great, bluntly described the tragedy in after years, belligerent managers on both sides engaged an army of philosophers and scribes to formulate convincing reasons for each turn in affairs, manufacturing in this fashion a literature that was immense and imaginative.

In addition to designing moral patterns for popular use, European statesmen in charge of the war had also to agree upon more substantial objectives. Of course there was little doubt about the character of the settlement that the German militarists would have imposed upon the world if victory had perched upon their banners; out of their historic past and out of their mouths they stood confessed—the treaty of Brest-Litovsk forced on Russia revealing in drastic terms in 1918 the range of their ambitions. It was not necessary for the Central Powers to enter into secret understandings as to the division of the booty to be acquired; they formed a solid bloc under German dominion.

But the case of the Entente Allies was different in that no single power was dominant. Italy, for example, had been brought into the war only by heroic bargaining which resulted in a secret treaty stating exactly what her reward was to be; and all the Associates were afraid of defections induced by favorable offers from the enemy. To make sure of their unity, therefore, the diplomats of France, England, Russia, and Japan in 1915 set projects for distributing the spoils, on the fine old Roman principle of "Woe to the vanquished!" If

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the Bolsheviki had not torn open the secret archives of Petrograd and flung the documents in the face of mankind in December, 1917, these plighted war aims of the Entente Allies would have remained unknown perhaps forever and their official hypothesis would have been challenged only by the cynical at home and the Germans abroad. But the Russian Revolution made the facts public property, enabling the generation that fought the war to get its sources straight from authentic records.

To these European understandings America had been no party. President Wilson privately believed that both embattled hosts were fighting for the same thing—namely, to relieve historic grudges and gain material advantages. It was this conviction, founded on no mean knowledge, that kept him cold in the early years of the war while ardent compatriots raged around the White House.

But, as he watched the smoke and flames of burning Europe month after month, the President came to certain general conclusions relative to the kind of settlement that ought to be made—long before he threw the American sword into the scales. These conclusions he had expounded in his peace address before the Senate in January, 1917, in which lay the germs of his later program, but which was greeted at the time with doubts and derision by the managers of Europe.

Yet water flowed swiftly under the bridge. In less than a year, while the decision of the battle fronts still hung in the balance, the Russian Revolution of November, 1917, shook the social order of Europe to its very foundations—making the whole earth vibrate with the tramp of the proletariat and tremble at the most daring call for a universal uprising against governments issued to mankind since the French Declaration of Rights in 1789. At once it became evident that Russia could be held in line and the war morale of Germany undermined only by radical statements of a democratic policy flatly belieing the imperialistic aims hidden in the secret treaties of the Allied Powers.

It was then that President Wilson, renewing his former professions, came to the rescue of his hard-pressed associates of little faith. In the tempestuous days of January, 1918, when the Bolsheviki were staggering before the hard terms proposed by the imperial governments of Germany and Austria at Brest-Litovsk, he went before Congress and proclaimed his Fourteen Points in ringing periods that flew on the wings of lightning wherever subject peoples were ruled by imperial powers.

Briefly digested, these articles of political faith embraced the following items: open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, removal of hampering trade barriers among nations, reduction of armaments, adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of the populations involved, fair treatment for Russia, restoration of Belgium, righting the wrong done to France in 1871, adjustment of Italian frontiers on principles of nationalism, more autonomy for the peoples of the Austro-Hungarian empire, restoration of Rumania and Servia, an independent Poland, reorganization of the Turkish empire, and finally an association of nations to uphold a peaceful world order.

Such was the American creed formulated by the spokesmen for the nation and received with a shout of approval from coast to coast. Like drowning men grasping at straws, responsible statesmen among the Entente Allies gave their sanction to the Wilsonian formulas "in principle"—privately subject to discreet and appropriate reservations. With revolutionary doctrines thus phrased and approved, the people of the Central Powers, soldiers and civilians, were drenched in a propaganda for liberty and democracy, warning them that they were fighting for imperialist masters against governments that offered them a peace of justice and freedom.

YET it would be a mistake to lay too much stress on the achievements of this indoctrination. It was the weight of metal rather than of words that defeated Germany and Austria. On August 14, 1918, Ludendorf, according to secret papers now revealed, confessed to his imperial master that the great game was over, that the German armies were beaten, and that the one remaining task was to wring from the victors the best possible terms. By way of preparation, they admitted a large number of the Socialists to their council, introduced the English parliamentary system of government, and called

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a mild liberal, Prince Maximilian of Baden, to the chancellorship. In a startling call sent to Wilson through the mediation of Switzerland, on October 5, 1918, the new German government asked him to take steps to end the war because, forsooth, the principles proclaimed by him were in accord with the "general ideas cherished by the new German government and with it the overwhelming majority of our people."

In trying circumstances Wilson faced the test of his hypothesis. When it came to laying down the exact conditions of an armistice, political theories had to descend to concrete realities. In this sphere it was General Foch, responsible head of the Allied and associated armies, who was the natural master of ceremonies. For more than a month the discussion of provisional conditions for peace went on while the German armies in France crumbled before the relentless drive. At the end of September, Bulgaria had surrendered unconditionally. Late in October, Austria, after suffering ruinous reverses on the Italian front, begged for peace, and on November 3 laid down her arms. Two days later President Wilson transmitted the draconian armistice terms, drawn by military men, to the authorities in Berlin where revolution had already raised its red specter. Confronted by an implacable foe and deserted by his weary nation, the German Kaiser laid down the insignia of office and fled with the Crown Prince to personal safety in Holland. On the morning of November 11, at eleven o'clock, the armistice went into effect and the roll of guns that had thundered along the front for four agonizing years died away. A tumult of thanksgiving surged throughout the world, even the Germans finding crumbs of comfort in the fact that there was to be no triumphal march of victors into Berlin.

WILSON now had to meet the greatest crisis of his life —and without the support of a united country. At the congressional elections held a few days before the armistice the American voters, spurning his appeal for a Democratic House of Representatives to sustain his hand in negotiating peace on his avowed principles, had returned a majority of Republicans after a savage campaign in which many outstanding leaders had demanded the unconditional surrender of Germany, a Spartan peace for the vanquished, and the utter rejection of the proposed league of nations. "In no other free country in the world today would Mr. Wilson be in office," was the taunt flung at the President on the eve of his departure for the peace conference in France—a taunt taken up with glee by the imperialist press of London and Paris.

On his arrival in Europe to realize the dream of his Fourteen Points, President Wilson was, therefore, a broken instrument compelled by fate to engage in high diplomatic combat with the most astute politicians thrown to the top in the volcanic upheaval of the war—all of them sustained by powerful chauvinistic passions at home. To them it made little difference if the President was acclaimed as the Moses of a new day and with Mrs. Wilson at his side, received a triumphal ovation that would have turned the head of a Caesar or a Napoleon. Knowing that the singing masses would soon lose their fervor and shift to new attractions, these more experienced statesmen played for delay when he reached Paris in the early days of December with a veritable army of American experts in history, geography, economics, diplomacy and the four commissioners chosen by him to serve as his aides. More than a month was allowed to elapse before the plenary peace council of the thirty-two victorious belligerents met formally, on January 18—to receive the information that all important business would be transacted by a supreme council composed of the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan.

When eventually the diplomats got down to laying out boundaries and distributing goods, a contest of wits commenced—a contest held behind closed doors at Wilson's request, with the ready acquiescence of his colleagues. Assured in the matter of Shantung, Japan dropped out; and Orlando, angered by Wilson's flat refusal to yield to Italy's intransigent demands, withdrew amid the cheers of his countrymen. So in the end, "the big three"—Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Wilson—in their private chambers—wrote the significant clauses for the voluminous treaty of peace including the section putting the responsibility for starting the war on the

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Central Powers. The German delegation, on June 28, 1919, having filed vigorous protests, entered the Hall of Mirrors in the palace of Versailles—the scene of the Hohenzollern triumph in 1871—to sign on the dotted line. In due course Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey were also brought to book.

The details of the grand settlement were spread over many pages but the principles of historic importance were few and simple. Like all such human arrangements, the compact was in some respects a compromise. Certain elements of the Fourteen Points were realized: for example, nine independent states, most of them in eastern Europe, were called into being under the principle of self-determination and Alsace-Lorraine was restored to France. The boundaries of Italy, Greece, Rumania, Servia, Belgium, and Denmark were enlarged on the theory of nationality, with many glaring violations of the creed. Germany was reduced in size and power and Austria-Hungary broken up. While conforming in some respects to the Wilsonian doctrines, these arrangements added to the security and strength of France without jeopardizing, at least immediately, any British interests.

In the distribution of imperial spoils, slight concessions were made to Wilson's feelings. Germany's former colonies in all parts of the world were transferred to the victors merely as mandates "to be held under the League of Nations" as "a sacred trust for civilization." The Saar Valley, purely German in population but possessed of rich coal fields, was assigned to France simply for temporary exploitation. Shantung, wrested from Germany by Japan, was won by the diplomats of Tokyo against the loud protests of the Peking delegation, only under a promise of ultimate return to China—later carried out to the letter under interesting circumstances. But in the main and substantially, the arrangement of boundaries and the division of booty outlined in the famous Secret Treaties of 1915 were realized in the Versailles treaty—with a noteworthy exception. Russia, given no voice in the council chamber at Paris, did not receive the share originally allotted to her; on the contrary, the territory of the old Russian Empire was cut and carved at will by the mapmakers of the Supreme Council. Subject to these limitations, the proceedings at Paris ran true to careful plans and immemorial usage.

Nothing was omitted that promised to break the power of Germany as a competitor in the markets of the world. Her navy was turned over to the victors. Her army was reduced to a negligible figure. She was deprived of her colonies, her merchant marine, her property in foreign lands, and her trading bases and banks in all parts of the world. Under the guise of reparations, including the cost of pensions for the veterans of the French armies and their families, the Germans were forced to pledge themselves to payments totaling in the end about thirty-three billion gold dollars—a staggering sum that made the punitive indemnities of previous settlements appear pitiably small.

In short, the law of vengeance was to be applied.

IN this great bargain President Wilson got no indemnities and no territory for the United States—nothing comparable to McKinley's winnings in 1898. In fulfillment of his principles, he sought no national gains. Looking to the long future, he labored rather with unbending will and great stress of spirit to secure agreement on a plan for a League of Nations, counting all temporary provisions as minor matters to be adjusted in the coming Parliament of Man. Keeping always before him that more distant ideal, the President contested every inch of the ground in Paris, even going once so far as to threaten a rupture of negotiations by ordering his steamer to make ready for departure. Undoubtedly his perplexity was deep. If he had defiantly refused to make any prime concessions to the diplomacy of historic subtraction and division, he would have pleased a little band of faithful liberals at home, but by the same token he would have brought down upon his head the wrath of an army of Republicans bent on the ruin of Germany and the recovery of power at home. So in the end, the President made his choice and completed the treaty, reckoning the settlement with the Central Powers, however open to criticism, as lighter in the balance than a perpetual pledge of peace. Weltgeschichte, as the Germans say, ist Weltgericht; and long after all now living are in

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their graves the far judgment of destiny may be rendered on this man.

AT last a World Parliament, so celebrated in prose and poetry, seemed within a measurable distance of realization. But on submitting his program to the judgment of the American people, champions of the new order encountered a hostility which dazed those who thought the war had been waged to end war. During the long-drawn proceedings at Paris the air had been filled with discordant notes and when the treaty finally appeared, the forces of opposition—conservative and radical—coalesced in shouting a mighty negative.

With grim determination Wilson's adversaries carried their battle into the Senate—now in Republican hands—where under the Constitution, a two-thirds vote was necessary to the ratification of the Versailles document. German sympathizers attacked it for the severe terms imposed upon the vanquished. Irish sympathizers advanced upon it because it gave representation to the self-governing dominions of Great Britain while offering no sign of recognition to Ireland, then deep in her struggle for independence. On the other hand, if some thought the burdens laid upon Germany too heavy, or the claims of Ireland shamefully neglected, perhaps as many were discontented because the rights of America and American citizens had received too little attention in the gathering up of the fragments at Paris.

But the heaviest barrage of fire was concentrated on the Covenant of the League of Nations by those who clung to the traditional doctrine of isolation. Nor did the personal tactics pursued by President Wilson from the beginning have a mollifying effect on political passions. He had assumed the whole burden of responsibility for the final settlement, in effect inviting his enemies to transfer to his handiwork the full brunt of their animosity against him and his domestic policies. Moreover, during the negotiation of the treaty, the Senate itself had been neglected, receiving from Wilson no conciliatory messages. "The stage is set," he said; "the destiny disclosed. It has come about by no plan of our conceiving, but by the hand of God who led us into this war." He later endeavored, it is true, to disarm his critics in the Senate by personal conferences but his efforts in that direction were too late and evidently too marred by appearances of awkwardness and restraint.

Fearing defeat in the end the harassed President, taking the stump in September, made a grand tour to the Pacific Coast appealing to the American people at large over the heads of the recalcitrant senators in Washington. But the effort was too much for him. While engaged in this battle for his treaty, Wilson became desperately ill and was taken back to the capital, broken in body if not in spirit. Save for occasional hours of feverish activity, he never recovered his power. During the remainder of his term the affairs of his administration drifted; his Cabinet fell to pieces with resignations and dismissals; and Congress, dominated by Republicans, devoted itself in accordance with canonical party custom to the politics of obstruction and recrimination preparatory to the coming election. Unable to agree on reservations and worn by the long debates, the Senate, on March 19, 1920, definitely rejected the treaty by announcing that the constitutional majority could not be obtained. The campaign being now at hand, Wilson insisted that the people should hold "a solemn referendum" upon the League of Nations. His desire was gratified.

"AMERICA'S present need is not heroics but healing; no nostrums but normalcy; not revolution but restoration; . . . not surgery but serenity." In these brief phrases, delivered to an audience of responsive captains of industrial enterprise in Boston, in May, 1920, Senator Warren Gamaliel Harding, of Ohio, expressed their poignant yearning for a return—how far no one could tell—upon the course along which they had been carried by Wilson. No political manometer registered the exact degree of pressure.

With reference to foreign affairs, any program of healing, restoration, and serenity implied a repudiation of Wilson's high internationalism including its tenderness for subject races, a reliance upon the safeguards offered by the balance of power, a revival of the Webster-Seward-Hay policy in the Pacific

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Ocean, the hard-headed promotion of foreign trade by the engines of state, the development of the Navy as the forerunner and defender of commerce, and firmness in the government of imperial provinces. Equally realistic, essentially economic, were the insinuations of normalcy in domestic politics.

The revival of McKinley's learning, signified, for example, a repeal of the taxes on incomes, inheritances, and excess profits, especially the higher schedules, and a shift of the burden of federal support from wealth enjoyed by the rich to goods consumed by the masses. It likewise involved a recovery of the Hamilton-Clay-Webster-McKinley system of tariffs. Examining the ground when the tumult and the shouting of war died away, champions of recession found reasons for indulging in expectations. In spite of Roosevelt and Wilson, the captains of enterprise were still in the arena; they were conscious of no wrong-doing such as had been ascribed to them in the tempestuous days of 1912 and they were not convinced that the drift in politics since the close of McKinley's era had been either just or inherently necessary.

To their designs the general state of the Wilson régime was distinctly favorable. Immediately after the armistice, the administration commenced to disintegrate. In only one relation did it persist in exercising unsparing control over private affairs once justified by the demands of the war, namely, in the suppression of critical opinion. Postmaster-general Burleson continued to exercise a stringent supervision over the press and the mails. The attorney-general, A. Mitchell Palmer, candidate for the Democratic nomination, kept himself in the public eye by a hot "war on the Reds," arresting suspected persons wholesale, authorizing the use of provocative agents to stir up "seditious meetings," insisting on the deportation of aliens rounded up by detectives from the Department of Justice, and tolerating if not authorizing constant resort to the third degree, that is, the physical abuse of accused persons.

Indeed the inquisitorial activities of the Wilson administration after the close of the "war to make the world safe for democracy" became so vehement that a committee of prominent lawyers filed a memorandum of remonstrance. "We may well wonder, in view of the precedents now established," exclaimed Charles E. Hughes the former justice of the Supreme Court, "whether constitutional government as heretofore maintained in this republic could survive another great war even victoriously waged."

BY many hands, therefore, the stage was set by 1920 for a strong reaction against everything that had a Wilsonian flavor. Liberals fumed over "his surrender to British and French imperialism at Paris," his cold refusal to approve a general amnesty for political offenders, and his continued prosecution of persons accused of harboring radical opinions. Republican statesmen who had endured and even ostentatiously approved Wilson's lofty sentiments about the objects of the war, now felt free to deny the official hypothesis, assail it violently, and substitute for it the simple and less seraphic reason that we had taken up arms "to save our skins."

In fact, on all sides the canonical creed of the war, the enthralling idealism with which Wilson had sustained his grand crusade, was now attacked with relentless analysis, here and abroad—much to the amazement of the Socialists in jail for the objections they had so recently put on record in the court of opinion against the official hypothesis.

With an unconcern that astounded the generality, Sir Philip Gibbs now characterized the Belgian atrocity stories as pure war myths. Freed from official censorship, this brilliant journalist, whose livid etchings of the war had thrilled millions during the tragic years and had given the Allied leaders heroic proportions, now rendered a collective judgment: "The old politicians who had played the game of politics before the war, gambling with the lives of men for territories, privileged markets, oil fields, native races, coaling stations, and imperial prestige, grabbed the pool which the German gamblers had lost when their last bluff was called and quarrelled over its distribution."

To the confessions of once-muzzled journalists were added more impressive documents. When Russian, German, and Austrian archives were torn open by revolution, the secret negotiations, conversations, agreements, and treaties by which

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the Entente Powers had planned to smash Germany and divide the spoils of war according to the ancient rules were exposed to the public gaze. In all its naked horror the sordid and grimy diplomacy which had precipitated the bloody conflict was revealed; and by way of supplement memoirs, papers, treaties, and articles on the background of the war began to flow from the presses. Though cautious editors long ignored the researches of scholars, though aged clubmen and embattled women continued to fight the war along canonical lines, the task of keeping alive the old reverie was beyond their powers.

And after a while misgivings leaked into the very Senate of the United States. In the chamber that three short years before had carried the war resolution in a tempest of enthusiasm, the question was now calmly asked, "Why after all did we enter the war?" To most Democrats this inquiry was worse than indecent; it was profane. But Republicans pressed it and Senator Harding answered. Referring to the preamble of the measure declaring hostilities against Germany, he recited the acts of violence committed by the German government against the people of the United States. Then he closed laconically: "There is the whole story. Nothing there especially proclaiming democracy and humanity." This he said in no captious mood; at bottom it expressed his mature conviction. A little later in his speech accepting the presidential nomination, Harding took pains to state formally that "we asked the sons of this republic to defend our national rights" rather than to "purge the Old World of the accumulated ills of rivalry and greed."

So the politicians seemed to blow mists of doubt athwart the sunlight that streamed down on the poppies in Flanders fields, bringing anguish to those who felt with Wilson that the heart of humanity would break if the United States did not enter the League of Nations.

The League question, of course, made some difficulties for the Republican candidate because he had to conciliate men absolutely opposed to ratification in any form or manner whatsoever—and to keep in the same step ardent supporters of an international union. But if the task had its perils, Harding ingeniously surmounted them by condemning the League of Nations devised at Paris and proposing instead "a free association of nations." There he cautiously stopped, declining to make it clear just what kind of association he had in mind or how it was to be brought into existence. The precaution was after all unnecessary as the election returns proved. Besides a popular plurality of seven millions, Harding received 404 out of 531 electoral votes.

ONCE safely installed in the White House, President Harding flatly refused to revive the Versailles treaty and eventually he came to the conclusion that the American people had settled this issue forever. To invite the other countries of the world already bound together in the League to join the United States in forming another "association of nations" on a new American model, as he had suggested, was evidently out of the question—if not comical.

Having finally arrived at a specific conclusion, the Harding administration placed the Versailles pact in the official waste-basket and Congress, hearing news of this action in the White House, by a joint resolution, signed by the President on July 2, 1921, declared the war with the late Central Empires at an end—expressly reserving to the United States and its citizens all the rights and privileges to which they were entitled under the armistice and the final settlement. Thereupon separate treaties of peace were negotiated with Germany, Austria, and Hungary and duly ratified by the Senate. Thus in an unexpected fashion "the war to end war" was formally brought to a close, as far as the United States was concerned, nearly three years after the fighting ceased on the battlefield.

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